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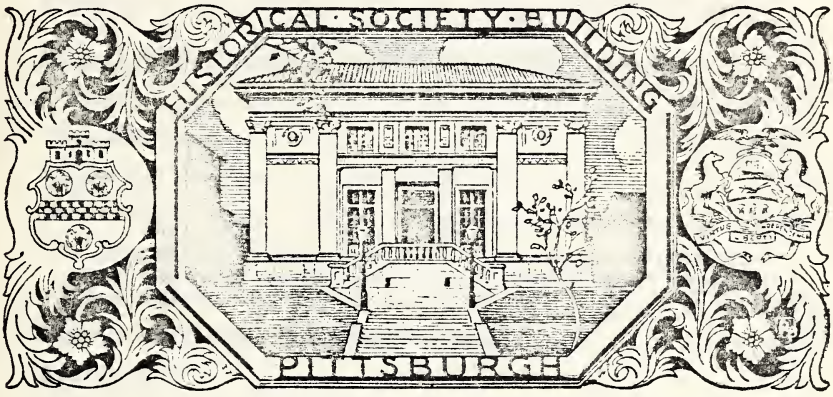

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WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 1, No. 1. January, 1918. Price, 35 Cents.

SALUTATORY.

Seventy-one years ago the publication of *The Olden Time* was begun in Pittsburgh. It was a monthly magazine edited by Neville B. Craig, in his day the best known authority in the country on the early West. The mission of the magazine was to preserve documents and other authentic information relating to the early exploration, and to the settlement and improvement, of the country at the head of the Ohio River. Much material of historical value which otherwise would have been lost, is preserved within the covers of this old periodical. At the end of two years it was discontinued for lack of material support. In his valedictory the editor bewailed the death of his magazine, but rejoiced at what had been accomplished. He stated that the publication was undertaken as the substitute for an historical society, the establishment of which had been attempted at various times before the birth of *The Olden Time*. But the seed that was then sown did not fall on stony places. An era of historical investigation commenced. Men began collecting books and papers relating to early Pennsylvania history. Musty garrets and dusty book shelves yielded up their treasures at the beck of the collectors. Historical societies were organized, and finally the growing sentiment brought into life the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, which it is hoped will be a permanent factor in the promotion of Pittsburgh's culture.

THE WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is published quarterly by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. Subscription price, $1.00 per Annum to members of the Society when paid in advance with regular annual dues; to all others, $1.50 per Annum.

It is true, the society entertains views somewhat different from those held by the editor of *The Olden Time.* It does not believe that the society could be a substitute for a periodical like *The Olden Time,* nor that this magazine could take the place of the society, but holds that the one must be the complement of the other. The society must supply the capital and the energy necessary to the conduct of the magazine, while the magazine is the instrument for the publication of the materials collected by the society.

For a number of years the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania realized that it would be advantageous to conduct a magazine, but did not feel able to undertake the work. It is now prepared to answer the call, and the result is its entry into the list of publishers. It is hoped that the magazine will be a valuable instrument in the preservation, discussion, and dissemination of matters of local history, biography and belles letters.

It is intended whenever possible to publish original letters, journals, records and other memoranda. Articles dealing with modern as well as the older phases of the history and development of what in early days was known as the Western country, will appear from time to time. Occasionally excerpts from publications not ordinarily accessible to the general reader, will be printed. The department of "Notes and Queries," begun in this number, is to be continued as a feature of the magazine. The editors hope for the assistance and co-operation of every member of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, as well as of those readers whose names do not appear on its roles.

REV. JOHN TAYLOR

The First Rector of Trinity Episcopal Church of Pittsburgh and His Commonplace Book.

By Charles W. Dahlinger.

Although Trinity Episcopal Church of Pittsburgh was not incorporated until 1805, there was an Episcopal church in the village a number of years prior to that time. It is probable that such a church was in existence as early as September 24, 1787, that being the date of the deed by which John Penn, Jr., and John Penn, conveyed the land on Sixth Avenue on which the present Trinity Episcopal Church stands, to John Gibson, John Ormsby, Devereux Smith and Dr. Nathaniel Bedford, Trustees "of the congregation of the Episcopalian Church, commonly called the Church of England." It is unlikely that this conveyance, dated on the same day as the deed to the Presbyterian congregation, for lots on Woods Street adjoining those conveyed for the use of the Episcopalians would have been made, had there not been an Episcopal church organization in Pittsburgh at the time.

The earliest Episcopal services in Pittsburgh of which there is any authentic account were conducted by the Rev. Francis Reno, a pioneer Episcopal clergyman. It is related that in 1794 he officiated alternately at Pittsburgh, and Chartiers, a few miles from this place. But the minister who is recognized as the first rector of Trinity Church, and of the congregation of which it was the immediate successor, was the Rev. John Taylor. Much of the early information in regard to this church to be found in the local histories, so far as it relates to Mr. Taylor, seems to be based on the memorial sermon delivered on October 3, 1869, by the Rev. John Scarborough then rector of Trinity Church, on the occasion of the last service in the old church which stood on the site of the present structure. (1) In this sermon Dr. Scarborough stated that in 1797 a handful of churchmen resident in Pittsburgh invited the Rev. John

(1) Rev. John Scarborough: *The Sermon preached at the Farewell Service in Old Trinity Church, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania,* October 3, 1869, Pittsburgh, 1869.

Taylor to officiate as their pastor, and intimates that the church organization dates from that year, and that Mr. Taylor then began his ministrations in Pittsburgh.

Through the kindness of Mr. Lewis Irwin of this city, a great grandson of Mr. Taylor, the writer has been permitted to examine and study the little Commonplace Book kept by Mr. Taylor for forty-five years. The book contains a skeleton account of his activities from 1788 until the latter part of 1833. The Rev. John Taylor was born in County Armagh, Ireland, in 1754, and was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. It is not known when he came to America. He was originally a member of the Presbyterian church and in the United States became a convert to Episcopalianism. In the little manuscript prayer book left by him, and also owned by Mr. Irwin, are entries showing that he taught school in various places in Pennsylvania before being ordained a minister of the Gospel. On May 27, 1790, he commenced "in the College as tutor." There is nothing to indicate either the name or location of this college. On "September 25," presumably also in 1790, he began teaching school at "the meeting house of Dry Run" in Allen Township, Northampton County. On May 2, 1791, he commenced teaching at Easton. It is known that he married Susanna Woodruff, the widow of William Huston, a Revolutionary officer, who, after the declaration of peace served in the regular army of the United States. He was ordained a deacon on October 12, 1794, in Philadelphia by Bishop White.

Mr. Taylor probably went West in the early spring of 1797. At this time he resided at Bald Eagle, now Minesville, in Center County. The entries in the Commonplace Book are not always made consecutively, and it is necessary to read the entire volume in order to obtain a comprehensive view of his career. The earliest entries which have any bearing on his life in the West are those referring to the vendue which he held on October 26, 1796. This sale perhaps took place at his former home in anticipation of his removal to Western Pennsylvania. Most of the articles sold were household effects, the others being light farming implements such as might be used in the cultivation of a small plot of ground.

The Commonplace Book reveals the fact that the first few years spent by Mr. Taylor in the West, were not passed in Pittsburgh, but in Washington County, in this State, in the vicinity of the headwaters of King's Creek in that part of Hanover Township which was incorporated with Beaver County on its erection in 1800. That he resided in this township is substantiated by the fact that in the list of subscribers to the church and school which he established there, were Samuel Swearingen and his son, Thomas Swearingen, William Langfitt, James Whitehill, David Kerr, Obadiah Applegate, Robert Doak, James Ferrell, Robert Kennedy, James Reed and Captain David Patton. These men all dwelt in the neighborhood of King's Creek, Indian Creek, or Mill Creek, and their names appear in the list of taxables in Hanover Township, Beaver County, for the year 1802. (1) Samuel Swearingen was the great grandfather of Judge Joseph M. Swearingen of the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County, and William Langfitt was the grandfather of Dr. William J. Langfitt, and former State Senator Joseph A. Langfitt, both of Pittsburgh. Other subscribers living in Hanover Township were William Huston, Thomas Ferrell, James Gifford and Mrs. Moore. Benoni Dawson, and Thomas Dawson, his son, resided near the Ohio River in Second Moon Township, Allegheny County. Their names are entered among the taxables in that township for 1802, when it had become part of Beaver County. (2) Benoni Dawson was a pioneer settler, and the founder of Georgetown, and an early communicant of St. Luke's Episcopal Church of that place. Anthony Wilcoxon and John Wilcoxon lived across the State line in Brooke County, Virginia, and in 1800 the former was a member of St. John's Episcopal Church, situated about ten miles northeast of Charleston, now Wellsburgh, of which Dr. Joseph Doddridge, the author of the famous *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars,* was rector. If additional evidence was needed to prove that at this time Mr. Taylor was a resident of Han-

(1) Rev. Joseph H. Bausman, A. M.: *History of Beaver County, Pennsylvania*—New York, 1904. Vol. II, p. 1215.
(2) Ibid. p. 1217.

over Township, it is supplied by the fact that wheat was delivered for him by Samuel Swearingen at Brooke's Mill. This mill was located on King's Creek and was the most convenient mill to the settlements on King's Creek, Indian Creek and the headwaters of Mill Creek.

It is probable that both the church and the school were in the log building erected by the Presbyterians of the neighborhood of King's Creek, about three miles northwest of the present village of Florence in Washington County. It was known as the King's Creek Presbyterian Church. This church was either the oldest or the next oldest congregation in that part of Washington County and in what is now Beaver County. The honor was claimed by both King's Creek Church, and by the Mill Creek Presbyterian Church, located on a branch of Mill Creek in the present county of Beaver, about eight miles north of King's Creek. The earliest information in regard to these churches is found in the minutes of the Redstone Presbytery. The minutes show that Mill Creek Church asked for a supply on April 20, 1785, and King's Creek Church for one on October 19, 1785. The dates, however, are not conclusive of the organization of the two congregations.

At the time Mr. Taylor came to Washington County, the air of newness which had pervaded the district was disappearing. The Indian wars were at an end; the land titles obtained under the "Corn law" of Virginia, which State had formerly claimed this territory, or by virtue of the "Tomahawk rights" of Pennsylvania, were being exchanged for more substantial evidences of ownership. But the stories of Indian outrages had not been forgotten. The sites of the burnt cabins were landmarks; families who had lost members in sudden Indian attacks still bewailed their murdered kindred. The churches had suffered along with their members. An Indian foray against King's Creek Church was long talked about among the settlers. The event happened while the Rev. Joseph Smith, known to the irreverent as "Hell Fire Smith," from the lurid way in which he portrayed the terrors of hell, was serving the church as supply. He was engaged in the communion service; there was a sudden an-

nouncement of the approach of a band of Indians; the service was brought to an abrupt close; and in hot haste minister and congregation mounted their horses, and rode to a place of safety nearly twenty miles away. (1) In 1797, the building was empty and deserted, the congregation having removed to Cross Roads, the name by which Florence was then known. The Rev. Elisha Macurdy was the first pastor after the removal. David Elliott in his life of Dr. Macurdy related that the removal took place *about* the year 1798. (2) This date was not intended to be more than approximate, and the true date was no doubt earlier than 1797. It is entirely likely that the Episcopalians living within a radius of ten miles of King's Creek Church, being desirous of establishing a church of their own, secured the vacant building and procured Mr. Taylor to minister to them. Among the subscribers to the school were Presbyterians who may have been former members of King's Creek Church, and who joined the Episcopalians in the undertaking in order to obtain a teacher for their children.

Here Mr. Taylor preached the Gospel, and conducted a school for the children of the countryside. The school was opened on May 2, 1797, with eleven scholars, which in the next few months increased to between thirty and forty. His book fails to disclose that any baptisms or funerals were conducted by him. What may be the reference to a marriage ceremony is an entry in May, 1798, of the receipt from James Whitehill of a gallon of whisky, under which is written the significant word "Wedding." Whisky was the indispensible emblem of hospitality on every public and private occasion, and no doubt Mr. Taylor provided the whisky in anticipation of a wedding service which he had been engaged to perform.

Accounts were opened with the subscribers, and they were charged with church and school subscriptions which were in pounds, shillings and pence, Pennsylvania currency. There were debits for medical attendance which would lead

(1) Joseph Smith, D.D.: *Old Redstone*, Philadelphia, 1854, p. 70.
(2) David Elliott: *The Life of the Rev. Elisha Macurdy*, Allegheny, 1848, pp. 34-35.

to the belief that at this time Mr. Taylor also practiced medicine, or at least prescribed simple remedies to the farmers among whom he labored. On the other side of the account was a statement of the manner in which the subscriptions were paid. Scarcely any money passed, the equivalent of about nine or ten dollars being all that Mr. Taylor received from this source during his entire sojourn in Washington County. Merchandise was the means of payment. Almost everything necessary for a frontier household appeared. Among the credits was a calf, a fat hog, a cow, rye, flaxseed, wheat, buckwheat, corn, oats, pork, sugar, potatoes, fodder for cows, men, women, and children's shoes, slippers, fire wood, honey, a bee hive, butter, a churn, meat, including "packeted" meat, venison, doe skins, linen, weaving linsey, and several quires of writing paper. The receipt of whisky was mentioned a number of times.

His time was not all spent in teaching and preaching, and like his neighbors he cultivated a tract of land, and owned horses, cows and hogs. The heaviest farm work was performed by his subscribers. Samuel Swearingen, who was his largest contributor, plowed his fields and harrowed his oats; and for other work furnished the services of his negro slave "Luke" together with his "team," or his "steers"; James Whitehill sowed flaxseed for him. The roads which he traveled in the performance of his duties, were rough bridle paths, the streams that he was obliged to cross were unbridged, and it was not always practicable to return home on the same day, and the book abounds with credits for the cost of keeping his horse.

During his residence in Washington County, Mr. Taylor never had more than nineteen or twenty subscribers, and there was little prospect of increasing this number by proselyting where Presbyterian sentiment was so overwhelming, or of obtaining additional scholars for his school. Besides his total subscriptions only amounted to forty-seven pounds and five shillings, equivalent to about one hundred and eleven dollars in United States money, or something like forty dollars a year. On this pittance, practically all paid in farm produce, together with the yield of his little farm, he was

obliged to maintain his large family. A call came from Pittsburgh, and he accepted the invitation and abandoned Washington County for that larger field.

His departure was a distinct loss to Episcopalianism, and a gain to the Presbyterian church. From the subsequent history of the Mill Creek Presbyterian Church it is apparent that after he deserted his congregation, many of the members became Presbyterians and joined Mill Creek Church. In 1902 this church celebrated what was called the "118th Anniversary." John M. Buchanan, a leading member of the Beaver County bar, in his address gave the sittings in the church of the early members, and among them were the names of nearly half the men who were contributors to Mr. Taylor's church. Their descendants are to-day generally members of the Presbyterian church. All that remains of King's Creek Church is a few scarcely visible ruins. They are on the farm once owned by John McCaslin, and now the property of Adam McCormack. A number of years ago decayed logs were dug up, and disintegrating sandstone found in the debris indicated that the church was provided with a chimney, something which few churches had at that period. A few ancient graves complete the scene.

It is likely that Mr. Taylor left Washington County and came to Pittsburgh to live in 1800. The last entry in the Commonplace Book relating to his labors in Washington County was dated April 20, 1799. At least one of the church subscriptions for the second year was made as late as August, 1798, and as church and school subscriptions were always made for the ensuing year, the time of closing his Washington County work would appear to have been in the summer or fall of 1799. He commenced teaching school in Pittsburgh on June 1, 1800. His first clerical act was the baptism on July 21, 1800, of the child of Justice of the Peace Jeremiah Barker, who had a general store on Market Street. He must therefore have left Washington County and come to Pittsburgh sometime between the summer of 1799 and June 1, 1800, probably in the early spring of the latter year. There are no other entries referring to the performance of ministerial functions until January 25, 1803,

while those relating to the school show that he was constantly employed in teaching during that interval. This would leave in doubt the exact date of the organization of Trinity Church. In any event it should be remembered that there were only a small number of Episcopalians in Pittsburgh, and while a few were people of means, the majority were poor, and whatever church organization they may have had, would be leading a feeble existence. It is well also to bear in mind that the entire population of Pittsburgh in 1800 was only 1565, and that the indifference toward religion engendered by the Revolutionary War was still strong. It was therefore necessary for Mr. Taylor to obtain money from other sources in addition to that received from his church. While it is not made plain in the book, it is well known that his school work was largely in the Pittsburgh Academy. This was the first institution of higher learning in the village, and was located on the south side of Third Avenue a short distance west of Cherry Alley. It was a small two-storied brick building, with the gable facing toward the alley, and contained three rooms, one below and two above.

In October, 1801, he opened a night school on his own account in one of the rooms of the Academy. (1) On January 10, 1803, he separated from the Academy and began conducting a school (2) in his residence at the corner of Market Street and Fifth Avenue. (3) When Fortescue Cuming was in Pittsburgh in 1807, he was again teaching in the Academy, being assistant instructor. (4) The charges for tuition were two dollars a quarter. Opposite the lists of the scholars as entered in the book are columns headed with the abbreviation "pd." In many cases under this abbreviation there are no entries. This might mean that in those instances the school money was never received, or it may indicate carelessness on the part of Mr. Taylor in failing to credit the amounts paid.

The names of many of the scholars appearing on these rolls recall memories of the men and women who made up

(1) *Pittsburgh Gazette*, October 9, 1801.
(2) *Pittsburgh Gazette*, January 7, 1803.
(3) *Pittsburgh Gazette*, November 18, 1803.
(4) F. Cuming: *Sketches of a Tour*, Pittsburgh, 1810, p. 68.

the life of early Pittsburgh. William Magee, Sam. Magee, Christopher L. Magee and Mathew Magee, all written McGee, were probably children of Samuel or Thomas Magee, the hatters, from one or the other of whom the late Christopher Lyman Magee and former mayor William A. Magee are descended. Julia and Eleanor Wrenshall were daughters of John Wrenshall, the father of Methodism in Pittsburgh, the first of whom afterward married Frederick Dent and became the mother of Julia Dent, the wife of Gen. U. S. Grant, eighteenth president of the United States; John Diehl, written Deal, was the grandfather of former mayor William J. Diehl; Hetty Ewalt was a daughter of Samuel Ewalt, a leading citizen and sheriff of Allegheny County during the Whisky Insurrection; James and Butler O'Hara, were sons of Col. James O'Hara, in his day the most prominent business man in Pittsburgh. Morgan and Fayette Neville were sons of Colonel Presley Neville, a Revolutionary officer and a well known public man in the latter part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. Morgan Neville became a member of the Allegheny County bar and was sheriff of the county from 1819 to 1822, and was editor of the *Pittsburgh Gazette* and a writer of marked ability. Henry M. Brackenridge was the son of Judge Hugh Henry Brackenridge, the most famous of all the early lawyers, and a writer of note; and the son was likewise conspicuous both as a public man and as an author. Caroline Marie was the daughter of John Marie, the Frenchman who conducted the inn near the northeast corner of what is now Fourth Avenue and Grant Street, perhaps the best known tavern in its day. Samuel Bedford was the son of Dr. Nathaniel Bedford, one of the first men to practice medicine in Pittsburgh. John Scull was the son of John Scull, the editor and publisher of the *Pittsburgh Gazette,* who with Morgan Neville, succeeded in the ownership of the newspaper. Alexander Morrow was probably the son of William Morrow, the proprietor of the inn on Water Street, called the "Green Tree." The Hancock children, William, Rebecca, Crawford and George were likely all children of Richard Hancock, the owner of the well known tavern on

Market Street, at the "The Sign of General Butler," formerly conducted by Mrs. Murphy. Among the students in the night school in 1806, was Peter Eltonhead, a man of adult years who two years before had established the first cotton factory in Pittsburgh. In the lists of scholars were also such well known names as Irwin, Beltzhoover, Craig, Cecil, Butler, Smallman, Wilkins, McGunnigle, Porter, Weidner, Jones and Lichtenberger. The names of his daughters and step-daughters appeared, but his son John was sent to the school conducted by the German Church at the northeast corner of Smithfield Street and Sixth Avenue, which in the common parlance of the day he designated, the "Dutch School." Interspersed with the names of the scholars are frequent entries of marriags, baptisms, and acknowledgments of the receipts of innumerable bushels of coal, and the purchase of meat from Mr. Diehl or Mr. Richard, and other household necessaries from various persons. The school register ends in 1807. Mr. Taylor may after that time have either discontinued teaching, or what is more likely, the record of the scholars were thereafter kept at the Academy.

From its inception and until sometime in 1808, when the Round Church, erected in the triangle bounded by Liberty Avenue, Sixth Avenue and Wood Street, was completed, Trinity Church held its services in the old court house, a two-storied log building situated on the north side of Front Street (now First Avenue) two doors east of Market Street, in the grand jury room on the second floor of the new court house, (1) located in the westerly part of the Diamond, and in public and private houses. During this period the entries indicate that Mr. Taylor's services at baptisms, marriages and funerals were rare. After the occupation of the Round Church such entries show a decided increase. But the record is not complete in this respect. An examination of the files of the early Pittsburgh newspapers shows that he officiated at other marriages in addition to those noted in the book. The highest number of ministerial acts performed in any year was in 1813, when it was thirty-seven. In 1817, the

(1) F. Cuming: *Sketches of a Tour*, Pittsburgh, 1810, p. 231.

number fell off somewhat, and the next year Mr. Taylor resigned his charge. He continued to baptize, marry and bury people in Pittsburgh and vicinity for many years afterward. After he left the church and until 1829, when he was seventy-five years of age, the number of entries devoted to this part of his work were about equal to the annual average for the entire period from 1808 to 1818. The ministerial acts performed in 1826 were fifty-one, a greater number than during any year of his pastorate. Included however, was the baptism of twenty children whose names are noted on a loose sheet found in the book, baptized at Chartiers Creek, sixteen on one day, and four on another. The continued call for his services was due perhaps to the fact that he had no immediate successor in the rectorate of Trinity Church, and for the reason that from 1818 to 1824, the church sometimes had a rector but oftener had none, and further because he was so well known in the town. Also he had endeared himself to many both in the church and out of it, who went to him whenever a clergyman was required. To these persons he was known by the affectionate appellation of "Father Taylor"; and their children delighted to call him "Pappy Taylor."

Mr. Taylor was an astronomer and had more than a local reputation. It is related that he loved the study of astronomy so well that he sometimes spent the entire night in observing the movement of the heavenly bodies. One of his sources of income was to furnish the astronomical calculations first for *Zadok Cramer's Almanacs*, and later for the *Western Farmer's Almanacs*. In one of the earliest advertisements of his night school he offered to teach any one who had made "a tolerable proficiency in mathematical knowledge" the art of making an almanac in the course of one quarter. (1) This work was most congenial to him and was continued to the end. The last almanac for which he furnished the calculations was the *Western Farmer's Almanac* for 1839, then published in Wheeling, which appeared after his death. In his connec-

(1) *Pittsburgh Gazette*, October 9, 1801.

tion with Zadok Cramer he must have displayed some acquaintance with business. It could not have been his Christian character alone which caused Mr. Cramer's widow to select him as administrator of her husband's considerable estate, upon the death of that eminent publisher and promotor of culture.

Mr. Taylor's discourses from the pulpit have been described by Mr. Cuming, who heard him preach, as "good moral lectures well adapted to the understanding of his hearers." (1) Judge Daniel Agnew (2) related an anecdote apropos of his preaching: On one occasion the sermon was quite long, and while in the middle Mr. Taylor stopped abruptly saying, "Brethern, we'll resarve the rest for the afternoon's divarsion." He was of such local prominence that much was written about him. Henry M. Brackenridge said his old teacher (3) "was as good a man as there is any use for in this wicked world." The eccentric and often unreliable Mrs. Anne Royall, who visited Pittsburgh in 1828, declared that "the Rev. John Taylor of Liberty Street," was a most amiable man who, on account of the hollowness of religion as practiced, had left off preaching in disgust, because of which he was then struggling with poverty. (4)

An intimate view of Mr. Taylor's later years is given in an article which appeared in the *Pittsburgh Leader* on July 18, 1897, based on information received from Mr. Taylor's relatives. To the picture there presented, the *Advance Argus* of Greenville, Pennsylvania, in its issue of June 21, 1900, supplied a few additional dashes of color. He was described as having been a large and handsome man, measuring over six feet in height, and weighing more than two hundred pounds. His hair was sandy and his complexion fair and boyish; and there was not a wrinkle on his face even in extreme old age. At family prayers he always remained standing, being too heavy to kneel with ease and comfort. He was of mild temper, and never became angry, and loved children and books. He was an excellent singer, and

(1) F. Cuming: *Sketches of a Tour*, Pittsburgh, 1810, p. 68.
(2) Hon. Daniel Agnew, LL.D., *Alumni Address*, Pittsburgh, 1885, p. 8.
(3) H. M. Brackenridge: *Recollection of Persons and Places in the West*, Philadelphia, p. 59.
(4) Mrs. Anne Royall: *Pennsylvania*, Vol. II, Washington, 1829, p. 73.

delighted to sing what he laughingly termed, "The twelve old tunes that God made in Ireland." He was besides a performer on the violin of no mean ability.

His wife died on January 16, 1829, and was buried in Trinity Churchyard. Her grave is near the Sixth Avenue fence, about a hundred feet west of the entrance. After her death he made his home with his son-in-law, Mr. John Irwin, in Allegheny, and passed the summers with his step-daughter, Sally Huston, who had married Thomas Limber, and lived with her husband on a farm on the bank of the Little Shenango Creek, three miles east of Greenville. Here he prepared his almanacs, using a large table covered with sand in which he made the calculations employing a stick for the purpose, paper being scarce in this backwoods settlement. In front of the house was his sun dial. His other occupation was to work several hours each day in the garden on the farm. He was a good swimmer and indulged in this pastime whenever the opportunity was presented.

His grandchildren, the daughters of Mr. Irwin, delighted to talk of his amiable character and jovial disposition. In winter on their return from spending the evening with their young companions, he always insisted that they come into his bedroom and tell him what they had done since leaving home. As they drew up about the fire and recounted their experiences, he would laugh and joke with them over ludicrous happenings or counsel and advise them on serious subjects.

He died on August 10, 1838, at the age of eighty-three years and nine months, at the home of Mr. Limber. His death was tragic. For some years before, at daily worship, he had prayed that his death might be sudden, "so that his body might not be racked with pain nor scorched with fever." He was on one of his usual summer visits. The hot August air had long been charged with electricity. Then the storm burst, the thunder roared and the lightning flashed, and at midnight Mr. Limber's house was struck, and its victim was Mr. Taylor. His prayer was answered.

He is at rest, only a few hundred yards from the spot where he met his death, in the small burial plot on the Hadly

Road, in a corner of the farm where he died. The marble slab which covers his remains is almost hidden by tangles of blackberry bushes and weeds.

The record of Mr. Taylor's ministerial acts while in Pittsburgh, as well as the entries on the loose sheet containing the list of baptisms on Chartiers Creek, being of permanent interest, are herewith printed in full, just as they appeared in the Commonplace Book, except that they are placed consecutively.

Registry of Marriages, Baptisms and Funerals.

July 2 Baptized Esqr Barker's little girl
1800
Jany. 25, 1803,
Mr. Fleming to Miss Peggy McDonald.
Polly Brown departed this life on the 27th of April, 1803, at one o'clock P. M.
May 12th, 1803, in the town of Pittsburgh, Jane Medcalf was baptized.
May 14th, 1803, Miss Sprague.
Feb 16th Married Cap't Reed
to Mrs. McDowell 1804
Feb 29 Married Mr. Hazlet to
Miss Cahoon 1804
William Neas was Baptized
on Sunday May 13th 1804
a child of one month old
August 13th 1804
Married Daniel Lochrey Jannet Calbreath
1805
Sept. 20, John McCune and Mary Wines were married.
1806
April 2d, Were baptized Margaret and Jane Donnaldson.
May 22, married Capt. Hook to Mrs. Calender.
July 19, Joseph Warters's daughter was baptized by name Nancy.
August 31, Mr. Lewis was married.
October 19, Baptized four children for Mr. Ol. Ormsby.
November 6, Married Wm. Arthurs.
1807

January 20, Mr. Cramer was married to Miss Clark
February 5, Married Mr. Th.Morrow to Miss Studder.
February 19, Were married Daniel Freese to Miss Anna Stevenson.
23d, Mr. Smyth and Mrs. Gross were married.
March 9th, Married a couple at Mr. Tuckers—A Miss Bradley.
13, Were married Mr. Miller to Miss McFaul.
25, Mr. Kelly and Miss Fitsimons were married.
26, Miss Keller was married.
29, Mr. McFall to Miss McAnany.
April 8, Were married, Mr. McAlester to Miss Patterson.
11, Samuel Camp was baptized twenty five years of age.
28, Were married Patrick O'Hara to Miss Margery Loughrey.
June 28, Edward Crommey was baptized a child of three weeks old.
July 16, Were married Daniel Alfred to Miss Sara McAlwain.
August 28, Married Polly Robinson.
September 11, Were married Mr. Smith to Miss P. Ferguson.
19, Mr. Mahaffey's three children were baptized.
30, Polly Alfred was married.
October 14, Married Miss Mary Kelly to Mr.
November 5, Were married Mr. Simms to Miss Neville of Pittsburgh.
6, Was baptized Ann Fish.
1808 February 2, Jesse Newel and Pegg Strain, were married.
February 10th 1808
Born 31t December 1807
Baptized Feby 10th 1808
Frederica Henrietta Amelung
Feb. 18, 1808, Were married John Lang to Miss Mary Fairly.

24, Were married William Davis to Miss Margaret Snook and Amasiah Ingram to Miss Unity O'Neal.

29, Alexander Long to Miss Mary Householder.

May 5, Peter Shaffer and Mary Obey were married.

16, James Young to Miss Catherine

1808

June 3 Baptized Charles Warner a child of 18 m

9, Mr. McFaul married to Mrs. Ross.

26, Were married Major Harmon to Miss

June 30, Were married Daniel Callison to Miss Sally Clark.

July 21, Were married Captain Ma Cutchin to Miss Rebecca Butler.

August 9, for John Robinson were baptized William Beny Robinson born March 28th, 1798.

John Garret Robinson born June 27, 1800.

Samuel Dolby Robinson September 6, 1803.

Mary Anne Margaret Robinson born Mar. 26, 1806.

For Richard Robinson were baptized George Sheed Robinson born May 23, 1801.

Elizabeth Robinson born May 24, 1803.

John Gronow Bull Robinson Jany. 13, 1807.

Ann Dolby Robinson born Jany 13, 1807.

1808 Oct 6, Nancy Johnson was baptized.

October 8, Were married Robert Aul to Miss Mary Myers.

October 31, Baptized Mr. Clark's son.

December 24, Were married Phil. Ross to Miss Hanna Semple.

25, Were baptized Mary Collins aged nine years July last.

Thomas Collins, aged 4 years August last.

Margaret Collins, two years July last,

Valeria Collins aged nine months September 11th, 1809

Jany 12, Were married Mr. Humburd to Miss Margaret Long.

Feb. 5, Were baptized for Mr. McLauchlin two boys and two girls.

27, Were married Michael Kerr to Polly McGlauglin.
March 28, Andrew Sloan to Miss Jane Hull.
April 7, Baptized a son for Mr. Abner Barker.
9, Dito a son for Dr. Mowry.
19, John MaCurgin to Hannah Lansdown.
28, Were married Mr. E. Minehart and Miss Betsey Hay.
June 28, Mr. Chaplain and Miss Craig were married.
July 17, David Jones and Miss Jane Jeffers were married.
July 27, Were married Jane Reed to Mr.
August Were married a son of Mr. Crawford to Miss Moore.
1809 August 9th Were married Thomas Hartly to Mrs. Sarah Camp.
September 1st, Were married Mr. Thos. Ligget to Mrs. Holdship.
October 26, James Mason married to Miss Nancy Williams.
December 28, Were married Mr. Abraham Rudolph to Miss Hanna Davis.

1810

Jany. 21, Henry Ferdinand Roberts was baptized.
March 10 Jacob Kelly and Nancy Camble were married.
April 20 1810 Married Mr.
Harris to Mrs.
May 2, John Pinkner and Polly Brewer.
May 10, 1810, a couple in Irish town.
10th, David Edwards to Jane Crookshank
18, Edward Custard and Cathrine Snee.
June 10, Peter Maffet to Mary Snee.
June 14, John Anderson to Miss Anne Glasford.
Abraham Rudolph to Miss Hannah Davis.
June 25, George Kelly to Miss Jane McBride.
June 28, Mr. Peter Baird to Miss Nancy Coffy.
July 3d, Mr. William Robinson Junior to Miss Parker.
July 8, Benjamin Holt to Polly Smith.
1810 August 9, Were baptized Maria Emson.

Juliana Minehart.
Were married Josiah Hellet to Miss Ruth Minehart.
August 12, Robert Bell to Dolly Thomson.
(Here a strip the width of a name has been cut from the Register)

September 6, Joshua McNight to Miss Barkley.
13, Andrew Stewart Miss Ursula Williams.
29, Mr. Christopher Cowan to Miss Kirkpatrick.
October 24, Steven Eddy to Miss Bridget Fox.
Novem 14, Mr. Henry to Mrs. Reed.
26, Reuben Hague to Isabella Strahan.
1811 Jany. 1, Peter Hane to Miss Polly Tripple.
Michael Lentz to Maria Eliza Jones.
1811 Jany. 1, Reuben Palmer to Mary Hogle.
3, Wm. Sharp to Miss Anne Sawyer.
16, John Shaeffer to Susanna Williams.
17, John Reed to Miss Smiley.
William Deel to Miss Hariet Sheldon.
19, David Brotherton to Miss Mary Mehugh.
20, Mr. Watson to Miss Sara Small.
(This space corresponds to the other side of the page in the Register where the strip was cut out as noted above)

March 19, James Camp to Miss Esther Staley.
21, Mr. Davis to Miss McDonnald.
22, Thos. Ross to Miss Margaret McKnight.
April 2, George Call to Miss Kitty Dunlevy.
3, David Cleland to Eliza Steel.
25, to Miss Newel.
May 9, Nelson Judd to Miss Charlotte Sutton.
11, John Beggs to Miss Sara Jones.
June 5, Obadiah Applegate to Rachel
13, Daniel McKinzey Tucker to Miss Anna Paine.
July 11, Patrick Snee to Miss Margaret Rippy.
28, George Gardner to Miss Polly Tanner.
29, Robt. Guy to Miss Sally Clark.
August 5, Jack to Miss Ann, a black couple.
6, Geo. Randles to Miss Betsy Neely.
16, Wm. Martin to Nancy Baldwin.
18, Dr. Fred Buckelew to Miss Maria Cogan.

25, Lewis Huttenhond to Miss Peggy Berryman

31, Thos. Sheldon to Nancy Richardson.

Septem 5, John Morrison to Jane McNeel.

15, Elias Jones to Miss Ann Akins.

Oct. 2, Phil Pane to Miss Casteel.

19, Benjamin Morgan Roberts was baptized.

Novem 14th, Mr. Roseman to Miss Greenough.

December 19, John Girty to Miss Mary Graham.

22, Mr. Heesen to Miss M. Craig.

January 2, 1812, Mr. Obey to Miss Sally Benny.

24, Mr. Points to Miss Polly Smith.

28, Mr. Christopher Love to Miss Caathrine Miller.

Feb. 6, John Mann to Miss Polly Camble.

Michael Balsley to Miss Cathrine Miller.

Baptized, Nancy, Eliza Anne, Rosanna Tucker Eliza Went.

Feb. 14th, John Jones to Miss McKee.

17, Thos. Ing to Miss Fanny Cruse.

20, Mr. Henry Stevens to Miss Sophia Griffin.

March 12, James Jack to Miss Margaret Pollock.

26, Mr. Perkins to Miss Barkley.

29, Patrick McCauly to Matilda Cassady.

April 7th, 1812, Curtis Rook to Miss Martha Whinery.

14, Lewis Phipps to Alice Travilla.

17, Were baptized Maria Frew and George Witherite.

April 21, 1812,

Was baptized Charles Philius,
Godfather Charles Tompson,
GodMother, Elizabeth Elstner.

26, Ann, Eliza Amalia Wilson

30, Mr. Mazarie to Miss Cummer.

May 31, Was baptized Worstoff.

June 10, Married Philip Keller to Miss Rebecka Berry.

28, Baptized John Taylor Ethey.

July 19, Lieutenant Johnson to Miss Cathrine McGunnigle.

Aug. 18, George Dake to Sara Barnet.
Aug. 19, Mr. Charles M. Doughty to Miss Polly Anne McDowel.
23, Joseph Lewis was baptized.
Sept. 21, Nicholas Schuyler Jones to Miss Nancy Paxton.
October 22, 1812, James Clark to Miss Mary Duk, Pitt Township.
Decem 29, Arthur McCoubrie to Miss Sara Cummins.
1813 Jany. 1, Judge Young to Miss Barkly.
7, Charles Richard to Miss
Jan. 10, John Johnson to Miss Jane Madowel.
17, Archibald Sinclair to Miss Charity North.
February 10, John Hern to Miss Charlott Cecil.
March 11, David Soles to Miss Betsey Zimmerman.
16, Samuel Robinson to Miss Hariot Gray.
18, Jonathan McCartney to Miss Ellinor Camble.
22, John Rammage to Miss Margaret McClurg.
April 4th Richard Lewis to Miss Betsy Walters.
12, James Barry to Miss Nancy McClarron.
18, Joseph Cloyne to Hanna Ray.
24, Adam Jonson to Grace Holt.
24, Alex McMullin to Jane Crawford.
May 6, George Brown to Sophia Carrion.
20, Wm. Lusk to Miss Polly Davis.
June 11, John Cummins to Miss Betsy Adams.
17, Philip Black to Miss Patty Brown.
George Sleeth to Miss Sally Miller.
29, Robt. Beebee to Miss Vandever.
July 13, Thos. Carter to Miss Polly Scamahon.
Aug. 12, Hugh Calbreath to Miss Margaret York.
September 13, John Gardiner to Miss
Novem 10, George Brown to Miss Abbey Lamb.
11, James Macnamee to Miss Matilda Jonson.
Nimrod Grace to Miss Mary Anne McCulley.
25, Wm. Anderson to Miss Mary Jane Reed.
28, Chas. Shaler to Miss Amelia Louisa Kirkpatrick.
Decem. 1, David Frew to Miss Martha Kearns.
2, Wm. Boggs to Miss Sara Lee Pollock.

9, Mr. Brown to Miss McGinnis.
14, John B. Gray to Miss Kitty Garey.
20, to Miss Phillps.
28, John Bowers to Miss Nancy Finley.
26, Charles Shales to Miss Amelia Louisa Kirkpatrick.

Were baptized Jany 2 1814 in Pittsburgh,
David Gunsales, born May 4, 1807,
Joseph Do Do May 17, 1810,
Rachel Do Do March 12, 1812,
Edwin Long, born August 23, 1806.
Frederick do do Febr. 4, 1808.

Married Jan. 23, 1814, Wm. Thomson to Susana Brown.
27, Thos. B. Dorrell to Miss Elizabeth Lamb.
30, Wm. Richardson to Miss Mary McMullin.
Feb. 3, Francis Adolphus Wilkey to Miss Jane Bailey.
17, Elias B. Horner to Miss Eliza Camble.
22, Thos. Matthews to Mary Wilcox,
Charles Wilmore to Eliza Camble.
24, John O'Hara to Mrs. Black.
March 6, Asa B. Shephard to Miss Mary Blashford.
8, Philip Miller to Miss Jane Gwin.
16, John Graham to Miss Elizabeth Connor.
April 8, N-l-B-d to Miss M-L-Y.
11, Robert Hamilton to Miss Jane Wasson.
19, Jeremiah Eyenson to Miss Mary McFarran.
May 10, James Warden to Miss Mary McApin.
Samuel Richardson to Miss Jane Kalsa.
19, James Benny to Miss Betsy Douty.
June 30, Haven to Miss Fanny Irwin.
George McFaul to Miss Rebeka Rattle.
July 6, Mr. Griffin to Miss Mead.
7, Dr. Lewis to Miss Kirkpatrick.
Jams Patten to Miss Hanna
14, Henry Jack to Miss Boniface.
22, John Earls to Miss Anne Rattle.
August 3, Seth Howel to Miss Betsy Turnpaw.
9, Alex Martin to Kitty Richard.
Septem. 2, John Metker to Margaret Lamb.
13, John Macafee to Polly Hartford.

Octo. 27, John Binny to Miss
Novem 1, Michael Carr to Miss Elizabeth Dixon.
Decem. 27, Mr. Petigrew to Miss Patty Barkley.
Mr. Bolton to Miss Rachel Perkins.
1815 January 26th George Brittle to Miss Hains.
February 15, Mr. Geo. Morrow to Miss Kitty Magee.
16, George Morrow to Miss Kitty Magee.
23, Mr. Robinson to Miss Morrow.
April 7, Mr. to Miss Quail.
11, David Watt to Miss Jane Anderson.
13, Peter Leorton to Miss Mary Whitiford.
30, John Nelson to Miss Cathrine Lane.
May 25, James Henry to Miss Rebekka McClain.
William Sands to Miss Jane Camble.
29, Alexander MaClure to Miss Maria Barnet.
June 18, Joseph T. Goulden to Miss Isabella Steuport.
July 9, John O'Connor to Miss Martha Pinkerton.
18, Wm. Moor to Miss Elizabeth McKeya
31, John McGalahill to Miss Mary Anne McGaughan.
Aug. 1, Gabriel Silverthorn to Miss Harriet McGivn.
10, Thomas Burt to Miss Agnes Gallaway.
30, Thomas Alexander to Miss Dorcas Camble.
September 2, Baptized Robert Sara, David Hummel.
14, Alfred Loyd to Miss Alice McClernon.
21, Robt. McNeil to Miss Polly Long.
October 19, Wm. Starkey to Miss Fany Fox. } Of the
19, Lewis Reed to Miss Mary Berry } Army
20, Robert McCracken to Miss Cathrine McGrigger.
Novem. 2, James Ferguson to Miss Fanny Long.
Abraham Derry to Belinda Neville Colo.
12, Edward Smallman to Mrs. Birth.
22, Walter Holmes to Miss Margaret McCandles.
28, John Ing. to Miss Elizabeth Brannen.
Decem 14, Hugh Calbreath to Miss Margaret Sorley.
29, Thomas Scot to Miss Sara Wilson.
1816 Jan. 11, James Cramer to Miss Emely Comely.

15, Cathrine Elizabeth Eichbaum to George W. Bedwell.
23, Samuel Carey to Miss Mary Kemble.
25, Wm. Backhouse to Miss Christina Wright.
Febr. 6, Dennis Adams to Miss Jane Patterson.
15, John Hoey to Miss Mary Little.
20, James Davidson to Miss Jane Graham.
22, Robt. Townsend to Miss Deborah Coleman.
March 1, Wm. McGinnis to Ellionor Humes.
March 26, George Robinson to Miss Jones.
April 1, John Flecher to Miss Mary Gardner.
April 2, John James to Miss Polly Porter.
11, William Sidner to Miss Eliza Green.
23, Philip Harraga to Miss Margaret Vanever.
May 7, John Bradley to Mary Anne Fitspatrick.
16, William Dickson to Miss Isabella Morrow.
both of Lawrenceville.
28, Daniel Boyle to Miss Margaret Cox.
30, James Sweetman to Miss Catharine McDonnald.
June 18, Jame Hancock to Mrs. Jane McClelland.
July 2, Wm. McKelty to Miss Sarah Miller.
3, John Gillan to Miss Margaret McGunnigle.
4, Alexander Creighton to Miss Nancy Hill.
August 7, Alexander McAntire to Miss Elizab. Morrow.
Aug. 11, Mr. Lambie to Miss Cummer.
Aug. 22, John Longshaw to Miss Ellen McCappin.
September 16, James Higgins to Miss Ellinor Thomson.
October 3, John Rowley to Mary Aljoe.
7, Capt. Samuel Cooper to Miss Eliza Weigley.
Novem. 11, Roger Foley to Miss Barbara Kinney.
12, Daniel McKee to Miss Louisa Tripple.
14, Wm. Lemont to Miss Margaret Kingan.
Jas. McCaslin to Miss Elizabeth Thompson.
Francis Alexander to Miss Sarah Wilson.
26, Henry Zartman to Miss Margaret Shafer.
28, George Echard to Miss Nancy Kingsland.

(To be concluded)

The Boatman's Horn.*

BY GEN. WILLIAM O. BUTLER.

O, boatman! wind that horn again,
For never did the listening air,
Upon its lambent bosom bear
So wild, so soft, so sweet a strain!
What, though thy notes are sad and few,
By every simple boatman blown,
Yet is each pulse to nature true,
And melody in every tone.
How oft in boyhood's joyous days,
Unmindful of the lapsing hours,
I've loitered on my homeward way
By wild Ohio's bank of flowers;
While some lone boatman from the deck
Poured his soft numbers to the tide,
As if to charm from storm and wreck
The boat where all his fortunes ride!
Delighted Nature drank the sound,
Enchanted echo bore it round
In whispers soft and softer still,
From hill to plain and plain to hill,
Till e'en the thoughtless, frolic boy,
Elate with hope and wild with joy,
Who gamboled by the river side,
And sported with the fretting tide,
Feels something new pervade his breast,
Change his light step, repress his jest,
Bends o'er the flood his eager ear
To catch the sounds far off, yet dear—
Drinks the sweet draft, but knows not why
The tear of rapture fills his eye.

—*Western Review,* Lexington, Ky., 1821.

*Before the introduction of steam navigation on the Western rivers, passengers and articles of commerce were transported in barges, keelboats, pirogues, rafts and Kentucky flatboats. The nondescript craft all carried bugles which were blown at every stopping place, and as they passed the settlements. The recollection of these events inspired General Butler to write his exquisite poem.

The Trial of Mamachtaga, a Delaware Indian, the First Person Convicted of Murder West of the Alleghany Mountains, and Hanged For His Crime.*

BY JUDGE HUGH HENRY BRACKENRIDGE.

I know the particulars of the following story well, because one of the men (Smith) was shingling a house for me in the town of Pittsburgh, the evening before he was murdered by Mamachtaga, and for which murder, and some others, this Indian was tried. Smith had borrowed a blanket of me, saying that he was about to cross the river (Allegheny) to the Indian camp on the west side. Here a party of Indians, mostly Delawares, had come in, it being just after the war, and the greater part of these Indians having professed themselves friendly during the war, and their chief, Killbuck, with his family and that of several others, having remained at the garrison, or on an island in the Ohio river, called Killbuck's Island, and under the reach of the guns of the fort. Mamachtaga had been at war against the settlements with others of the Delawares who were now at this encampment.

I went myself over to the encampment, the next morning, and found the Indians there. Two men had been murdered, Smith and another of the name of Evans, and two wounded, one of them a dwarf by the name of Freeman. According to the relation which I got from the wounded, there were four white men together in a cabin when Mamachtaga, without the least notice, rushed in and stabbled Smith mortally, and had stabbed Evans, who had seized the Indian who was entangled with the dwarf among his feet attempting to escape, and who had received wounds also in the scuffle; the other white man had also received a stab. It would appear that the Indian had been in liquor, according to the account of the other Indians and of the white men who escaped. Killbuck appeared greatly cast down, and sat upon a log, silent. Mamachtaga made no attempt to escape. He was now sober, and gave himself up to the guard that came over, af-

*The trial and execution took place in the fall of 1785.

fecting not to know what had happened. The seat of justice of Westmoreland county being 30 miles distant, and the jail there not being secure, he was taken to the guard-house of the garrison, to be confined until a court of Oyer and Terminer should be holden in the county. Living in the place and being of the profession of the law, said I to the interpreter, Joseph Nicholas, one day, has that Indian any fur or peltry, or has he any interest with his nation that he could collect some and pay a lawyer to take up his defence for this homicide? The interpreter said that he had some in the hands of a trader in town, and that he could raise from his nation any quantity of racoon or beaver, provided it would answer any purpose. I was struck with the pleasantry of having an Indian for a client, and getting a fee in this way, and told the interpreter to go to the Indian, and explain the matter to him, who did so, and brought me an account that Mamachtaga had forty weight of Beaver, which he was ready to make over, being with a trader in town, William Amberson, with whom he had left it, and that he had a brother who would set off immediately to the Indian towns, and procure an hundred weight or more if that would do any good, but the interpreter stipulated that he should have half of all that should be got, for his trouble in bringing about the contract. Accordingly he was dispatched to the Indian, from whom he brought, in a short time, an order for the beaver in the hand of the trade with Mamachtaga (his mark). The mark was something like a turkey's foot, as these people have no idea of an hieroglyphic merely abstract, as a strait line or a curve, but it must bear some resemblance to a thing in nature. After this, as it behoved, I went to consult with my client and arrange his defence, if it were possible to make one on which a probable face could be put. Accompanied by the interpreter, I was admitted to the Indian, so that I could converse with him; he was in what is called the black hole, something resembling that kind of hole which is depressed in the floor, and which the southern people have in their cabins, in which to keep their esculent roots from the frost during the winter season. Not going down into the hole as may be supposed, though it was large

enough to contain two or three, and was depressed about eight feet, being the place in which delinquent or refractory soldiery had been confined occasionally for punishment, but standing on the floor above, I desired the interpreter to put his questions. This was done, explaining to him the object of the inquiry, that it was to serve him, and by knowing the truth, be prepared for his defence; he affected to know nothing about it, nor was he disposed to rely upon any defence that could be made. His idea was that he was giving the beaver as a commutation for his life. Under this impression it did not appear to me proper that I should take the beaver, knowing that I could do nothing for him; besides, seeing the manner in which the dark and squalid creature was accommodated with but a shirt and breech-clout on, humanity dictated that the beaver should be applied to procure him a blanket and food additional to the bread and water which he was allowed. Accordingly I returned the order to the interpreter, and desired him to procure and furnish these things. He seemed reluctant, and thought we ought to keep the perquisite we had got. On this, I thought it was advisable to retain the order and give it to a trader in town with directions to furnish these articles occasionally to the officer of the guard, which I did, taking the responsibility upon myself to the interpreter for his part of the beaver.

An Indian woman, known by the name of the Grenadier Squaw, was sitting doing some work by the trap-door of the cell, or hole in which he was confined, for the trap-door was kept open and a sentry at the outer door of the guard-house, the Indian woman was led by sympathy to sit by him. I had a curiosity to know the force of abstract sentiment, in preferring greater evils to what with us would seem to be less; or rather the force of opinion over pain. For knowing the idea of the Indians with regard to the disgrace of hanging, I proposed to the Indian woman, who spoke English as well as Indian, and was a Delaware herself, (Mamachtaga was of that nation), to ask him which he would choose, to be hanged or burnt? Whether it was that the woman was struck with the inhumanity of introducing the idea of death, she not only declined to put the question, but her countenance expressed resentment. I then recollected, and have

since attended to the circumstance, that amongst themselves, when they mean to put any one to death, they conceal the determination, and the time, until it is about to be put in execution, unless the blacking the prisoner, which is a mark upon such as are about to be burnt, may be called an intimation; but it is only by those who are accustomed to their manners that it can be understood. However, I got the question put by the interpreter, at which he seemed to hesitate for some time, but said he would rather be shot or be tomahawked. In a few days it made a great noise through the country that I was to appear for the Indian, and having acquired some reputation in the defence of criminals, it was thought possible by some that he might be acquitted by *the crooks of the law,* as the people expressed it; and it was talked of publickly to raise a party and come to town and take the interpreter and me both, and hang the interpreter, and exact an oath from me not to appear in behalf of the Indian. It was, however, finally concluded to come into the garrison and demand the Indian, and hang him themselves. Accordingly, a party came, in a few days, and about break of day summoned the garrison, and demanded the surrender of the Indian; the commanding officer remonstrated, and prevailed with them to leave the Indian to the civil authority. Upon which they retired, firing their guns as they came through the town. The interpreter, hearing the alarm, sprang up in his shirt, and made for a hill above the town, called Grant's-hill. On seeing him run, he was taken for the Indian, who they supposed had been suffered to escape, and was pursued, until the people were assured that it was not the Indian. In the meantime he had run some miles, and swimming the river, lay in the Indian country until he thought it might be safe to return.

It was not without good reason that the interpreter was alarmed, for having been some years amongst the Indians, in early life a prisoner, and since a good deal employed in the Indian trade, and on all occasions of treaty, employed as an interpreter, he was associated in the public mind with an Indian, and on this occasion, considered as the abettor of the Indian, from the circumstance of employing counsel to

defend him. And before this time a party had come from the Chartiers, a settlement south of the Monongahela, in the neighborhood of this town, and had attacked some friendly Indians on the Island in the Ohio, (Killbuck's Island) under the protection of the garrison, had killed several, and amongst them some that had been of essential service to the whites, in the expeditions against the Indian towns, and on scouting parties, in case of attacks upon the settlements. One to whom the whites had given the name of Wilson, (Captain Wilson) was much regretted by the garrison. A certain Cisna had commanded the party that committed this outrage.

A day or two after his return, the interpreter came to me, and relinquished all interest in the beaver that was lodged with the trader, or expectant from the towns, that he might, to use his own language, wipe his hands of the affair, and be clear of the charge of supporting the Indian. The fact was, that as to beaver from the towns I expected none, having been informed in the mean time by the friendly Indians, that Mamachtaga was a bad man, and was thought so by his nation; that he had been a great warrior; but was mischievous in liquor, having killed two of his own people; that it would not be much regretted in the nation to hear of his death; and that, except his brother, no one would give any thing to get him off.

He had the appearance of great ferocity; was of tall stature, and fierce aspect; he was called Mamachtaga, which signifies trees blown across, as is usual in a hurricane or tempest by the wind, and this name had been given him from the ungovernable nature of his passion. Having, therefore, no expectation of peltry or fur in the case, it was no great generosity in me to press upon the interpreter the taking half the beaver, as his right in procuring the contract; but finding me obstinate in insisting upon it, he got a friend to speak to me, and at length I suffered myself to be prevailed upon to let him off and take all the beaver that could be got to myself.

It did not appear to me advisable to relinquish the defence of the Indian, fee or no fee, lest it should be supposed

that I yielded to the popular impression, the fury of which, when it had a little spent itself, began to subside, and there were some who thought the Indian might be cleared, if it could be proved that the white men killed had made the Indian drunk, which was alleged to be the case; but which the wounded and surviving persons denied, particularly the dwarf, (William Freeman), but his testimony, it was thought, would not be much regarded, as he could not be said to be *man grown*, and had been convicted at the quarter sessions of stealing a keg of whiskey some time before.

At a court of Oyer and Terminer holden for the county of Westmoreland, before Chief Justice M'Kean, and Justice Bryan, Mamachtaga was brought to trial. The usual forms were pursued. An interpreter, not Nicholas, but a certain Handlyn, stood by him and interpreted, in the Delaware language, the indictment and the meaning of it, and the privilege he had to deny the charge, that is the plea of *"not guilty"* But he could not easily comprehend that it was matter of form, and that he must say *"not guilty"*; for he was unwilling to deny, as unbecoming a warrior to deny the truth. For though he did not confess, yet he did not like to say that he had not killed the men; only that he was drunk, and did not know what he had done; but "supposed he should know when he was under the ground." The court directed the plea to be entered for him, and he was put upon his trial.

He was called upon to make his challenges, which the interpreter explained to him, which he was left to make himself, and which he did as he liked the countenance of the jury, and challenged according to the sourness, or cheerfulness of the countenance, and what he thought indications of a mild temper. The jurors, as they were called to the book, being told in the usual form, "Prisoner, look upon the juror —juror, look upon the prisoner at the bar—are you related to the prisoner?" One of them, a German of a swarthy complexion, and being the first called, took the question amiss, thinking it a reflection, and said with some anger, that "he thought that an uncivil way to treat Dutch people, as if he could be the brother, or cousin, of an Indian"; but the matter being explained to him by another German on the jury,

he was satisfied, and was sworn.

The meaning of the jury being on oath, was explained to the Indian, to give him some idea of the solemnity and fairness of the trial. The testimony was positive and put the homicide beyond a doubt; so that nothing remained for me, in opening his defence, but the offering to prove that he was in liquor, and that this had been given him by the white people, the traders in town. This testimony was overruled, and it was explained to the Indian that the being drunk could not by our law excuse the murder. The Indian said "he hoped the good man above would excuse it."

The jury gave their verdict, guilty, without leaving the bar. And the prisoner was remanded to jail. In the mean time there was tried at the same court another person, (John Bradly), on a charge of homicide, but who was guilty of manslaughter only. Towards the ending of the court, these were both brought up to receive sentence. The Indian was asked what he had to say, why sentence of death should not be pronounced upon him. This was interpreted to him, and he said that he would rather run awhile. This was under the idea of the custom among the Indians of giving time to the murderer, according to the circumstances of the case, to run, during which time if he can satisfy the relations of the deceased, by a commutation for his life, a gun, a horse, fur and the like, it is in their power to dispense with the punishment, but if this cannot be done, having not enough to give, or the relations not consenting to take a commutation, he must come at the end of the time appointed, to the spot assigned, and there, by a warrior of the nation, or some relative, son, brother, etc., of the deceased be put to death, in which case the tomahawk is the usual instrument. No instance will occur in which the condemned will not be punctual to his engagement. And I think it very probable, or rather can have no doubt, but that if this Indian had been suffered to run at this time, that is, go to his nation, on the condition to return at a certain period, to receive the sentence of what he would call the council, he would have come, with as much fidelity, as a man challenged, would on a point of honour come to the place assigned, and at the time when,

to risk himself to his adversary. Such is the force of opinion, from education, on the human mind.

Sentence was being pronounced upon the man convicted of manslaughter. (In this case, the first part of the sentence, as the law directs, was that of hanging, which is done until the *benefit of clergy is prayed by the prisoner;* out not understanding this, he was not prepared for the shock; nothing could exceed the contortion of his muscles when a sentence, contrary to what he had expected, was pronounced. Being a simple man, he made a hideous outcry, gave a most woeful look to the court, and country and begged for mercy; and it was not for some time after that, having the matter explained to him, and the benefit of the clergy being allowed, he could be composed), sentence of *burning in the hand* being now pronounced; at this moment the sheriff came in with a rope to bind up his hand to a beam of the low and wooden court-house in which we were, in order that the hot iron might be put upon it.

Sentence of hanging had been previously pronounced upon the Indian, on which he had said that he would prefer to be shot; but it being explained to him that this could not be done, he had the idea of hanging in his mind. Accordingly, by a side glance, seeing the sheriff coming in with a rope, which was a bed cord he had procured, having nothing else, in our then low state of trade and manufactures, Mamachtaga conceived that the sentence was about to be executed presently upon him, and that the rope was for this purpose, which coming unaware upon him, he lost the command of himself for a moment; his visage grew black, his features were screwed up, and he writhed with horror and aversion; the surprise not having given time to the mind to collect itself, and on the acquired principle of honour, to conceal its dismay or on those of reason to bear with and compose itself to its fate. Even when undeceived and made acquainted that he was not to die then, he remained under a visible horror, the idea of immediate death, and especially of hanging, giving a tremor, like the refrigeration of cold upon the human frame.

Before he was taken from the bar, he wished to say

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something, which was to acknowledge, that his trial had been fair, and to express a wish, that his nation would not revenge his death, or come to war on his account. Being asked as he was taken off, by some of those accompanying the sheriff, in conducting him to jail, whom he thought the judges to be, before whom he had been tried, and who were on the bench in scarlet robes, which was the official custom of that time, and being of the Delaware nation, amongst whom Moravian missionaries had been a good deal, and as it would seem, mixing some recollections which he had derived from this source, he answered that the one, meaning the chief justice, was God, and the other Jesus Christ.

At the same court of Oyer and Terminer was convicted a man for the crime against nature, and at a court of Quarter Sessions a short time after, another, a young man of the name of Jack had been convicted of larceny, and was now confined in the same jail, and in fact in the same room, for there was but one, with the Indian and the white man beforementioned; and though, upon account of his youth and family connections, the jury in finding a verdict had recommended him to pardon, for which the supreme executive council of the State had been petitioned some time before; nevertheless he could not restrain the wickedness of his mind and had prevailed upon the white man, guilty of the crime against nature, as he had to die at any rate, to save the disgrace of being hanged, to consent to be murdered by the Indian. The creature was extremely simple, and had actually consented, and Jack had prepared a knife for the purpose, but the Indian refused, though solicited, and offered liquor, saying that he had killed white men enough already.

A child of the jailor had been taken sick, and had a fever. The Indian said he could cure it, if he had roots from the woods, which he knew. The jailor taking off his irons which he had on his feet, took his word that he would not make his escape, while he let him go to the woods to collect roots, telling him that if he did make his escape, the great council, the judges, would hang him, (the jailor), in his place. But for greater security, the jailor thought proper to accompany him to the woods, where roots were collected,

which on their return were made use of in the cure of the child.

The warrant for the execution of the Indian and of the white man, came to hand, and the morning of the execution the Indian expressed a wish to be painted, that he might die like a warrior. The jailor, as before, unironed him, and took him to the woods to collect his usual paints, which having done, he returned, and prepared himself for the occasion, painting highly with the rouge which they use on great occasions.

A great body of people assembling at the place of execution, the white man was hung first, and afterwards the Indian ascended a ladder placed to the cross timber of the gibbet; the rope being fastened, when he was swung off it broke, and the Indian fell, and having swooned a little, he rose with a smile, and went up again, a stronger rope in the mean time having been provided, or rather two put about his neck together, so that his weight was supported, and he underwent the sentence of the law, and was hanged till he was dead.

This was during the Indian war, and the place on the verge of the settlement, so that if the Indian had taken a false step, and gone off from the jailor while he was looking for roots for the cure, or for painting, it would have been easy for him to have made his escape; but such is the force of opinion, as we have before said, resulting from the way of thinking amongst the Indians, that he did not seem to think that he had the physical power to go. It was nevertheless considered an imprudent thing in the jailor to run this risk. For if the Indian had made his escape, it is morally certain that in the then state of public mind, the jailor himself would have fallen a sacrifice to the resentment of the people.—Loudon's Indian Narratives.

Diary of a Young Oil Speculator.

The history of the Pittsburgh Oil Exchanges is the story of the maddest period of speculation which was perhaps ever seen in the city. It forms a distinctive era in speculation, and a description of life in the exchanges is worth preserving. The editor vouches for the authenticity of the diary. The earliest experiences recorded by the diarist took place in the Pittsburgh Oil Exchange at that time located in the Old City Hall, which until recent years stood in the easterly part of the Diamond. On the completion of the Pittsburgh Petroleum Exchange at number 117 (now 337) Fourth Avenue, the author became a member there.

In 1886 the title of this exchange was changed to Pittsburgh Petroleum Stock and Metal Exchange. Oil speculation gradually declined, the Pittsburgh Oil Exchange went out of existence, a fire seriously damaged the building of the Pittsburgh Petroleum Stock and Metal Exchange, and in 1893 the property was sold to the Union Trust Company which tore down the building and erected in its place the banking house which it has ever since occupied. In other quarters the Pittsburgh Petroleum Stock and Metal Exchange languished for some years longer. In 1896 the Pittsburgh Stock Exchange was organized, most of the incorporators being former members of the older exchange, which thereupon shortly afterward discontinued business.

April, 1884.

I saw Riddle a few days ago and asked him which Exchange to enter and also his opinion of the step I contemplated taking. He told me not to speculate, but if I was determined to become a broker to do a strictly commission business. He evidently saw that I had my heart set on entering the Exchange, or I believe he would have urged me to reconsider my plan. He declared that in his opinion the old Exchange could not exist as a great Exchange, once the new one on Fourth Avenue was opened. He advised me however to purchase a membership in the old Exchange as the price was comparatively low; and if I did not like the oil business I would not be very much money out of pocket. I came near buying a seat, as suggested by Riddle, but Roseburg, who had it for sale, wanted five dollars more than I had decided to pay. Later in the day he would have sold it to me at my price; but then I did not want it at all.

Today I bought five shares of stock in the new or Petroleum Exchange for nine hundred dollars, and made applica-

tion for membership, paying the initiation fee of twenty-five dollars.

April 18, 1884.

I have now been hanging around the Exchange for two weeks, spending my time watching the proceedings and reading the newspapers. I was afraid to act, but two days ago Sam. Thompson came to me, and asked whether I did not want to do something. He said perhaps I had noticed the heavy selling by Watson and Beal, and in a vague way intimated that it was the Penn Bank Syndicate that was selling. I was given to understand that they had sold two millions of barrels, with the added insinuation that if it was all "long" oil, the market was bound to go down. "Let me sell you twenty thousand 'short'," Thompson continued.

I was afraid to give the order and requested him to find out whether it was really "long" oil that had been sold. He came back and reported that he had been assured it was "long stuff." I was still doubtful, but determined to run the risk, and told him to go ahead and sell twenty thousand "short" for me. After this had been done, I became bolder and ordered twenty thousand more to be sold, the average price on all my sales being 97 cents a barrel. The market closed a little below what I sold at, and I went home, easy in mind, but spent a restless night, having visions of disaster continually before my eyes.

Yesterday morning I was in the Exchange bright and early, and gave Thompson a check for a thousand dollars as "margins." This amount he was required to give Wright who had loaned him the oil which he had sold for me. The market opened weak and at eleven o'clock I concluded to begin "covering." Thompson "covered" me at an average price of 95 cents a barrel. Then my joy knew no bounds. I concluded to take a half holiday. On the way home I figured out my profit which amounted to eight hundred dollars, less broker's commission. I spent the afternoon reading and writing and thinking over my good fortune. I want to make twenty or thirty thousand dollars, then I will give it up. I have promised father to give him enough money to visit Europe as soon as I have made my pile.

April 22, 1884.

Yesterday morning the new Petroleum Exchange was opened for business with imposing ceremonies. I was on hand, behind the railing where the brokers stay, and must confess felt a little out of place. The room was thronged with visitors, among whom were a number of prominent citizens, several of whom delivered addresses, the burden of which was admiration of the "Petroleum Palace," very little being said about the business to be conducted in it. Before the speeches were made the Rev. Samuel Maxwell, rector of Trinity Episcopal Church, offered a prayer. A wicked friend commented on the prayer as follows: "When it was reported in the infernal regions that the Petroleum Exchange had been opened with prayer, all hell laughed so loud and long, that the sound of the laughter drowned the crackling of the flames."

My friend, old Mr. N.—, was among the visitors, and I went over and spoke to him, asking him the stereotyped question, "Don't you think it is a magnificent building?" This seemed to provoke him. While he spoke kindly enough to me, he was very bitter against the oil business. "Yes," said he, looking at the gilded walls and ceiling, "a gambling hell, and a bad place for a young man to be in. He will be ruined among these gamblers. The whole business should be suppressed by law. I am surprised that such a respectable man as Captain Batchelor would serve as President."

I suppose I blushed as I looked down with the mortification which I felt, while this harangue was going on, for I value Mr. N.—'s good opinion.

April 30, 1884.

While waiting until my new business cards are printed, I concluded to do a little speculating on my own account, and directed Sam. Thompson to sell twenty thousand barrels "short" at 93¾. He told me I had better buy twenty thousand instead of selling.

May 1, 1884.

I spent a miserable day. Oil closed at 97. As the oil market now stands my loss amounts to six hundred and fifty dollars. I gave Thompson my check for that amount.

The Fishers had their customers cover their "shorts" to-day. Everybody is "bullish." It is said the Standard is under the market.

May 3, 1884.

Two more days of mental anguish and nights of feverish slumber. I gave another check for six hundred and fifty dollars, the amount it now takes to make good the "margins" on my "shorts."

May 5, 1884.

My poor bank account was drawn on for four hundred dollars more to-day. Where will the market stop? The whole talk is, "She's booming, isn't she? She'll go to a dollar and a quarter sure this time. You had better 'cover' your 'shorts.'" I felt like "covering," but on consulting my friend T.—, I concluded to wait. If I get out without loss this time I will never speculate in oil again.

Last evening I called on the ——— girls, whom I had not seen for some time, and they asked me what business I was engaged in. I told them I was a member of the Petroleum Exchange. They appeared to be shocked, but quickly recovering said, "Of course you do not speculate yourself, do you?" I confessed that I did, when they asked, "Isn't it gambling? The ministers are all opposed to it. We always thought it was wrong, but of course we do not know anything about it."

We are again hearing of the persons who made money on this "boom." These stories remind me of something I saw to-day. P— S— made about one hundred and fifty dollars in a few minutes by buying oil and selling it again. Immediately he rushed into the lobby and told an acquaintance about his profit. At this time Mr. S— was also "short," and was losing five times as much as he had just made; this information, however, he did not impart to his friend.

The losses of the "bears" are not made public. The greedy "lambs" who go in on the "booms" and are always fleeced, would not come in so freely if the losses were placed prominently before them. It seems to me that the newspapers play into the hands of the manipulators. When oil is

"cornered" they say the fields are playing out, that stocks are declining, or give other plausible reasons for the advance in the price.

May 6, 1884.

For the first time in over a week I am breathing easily. The "bulls" were as confident as ever this morning. Some of them had the same pictured representation of a bull on their hats or coat lapels, as on the other mornings; but it was not long until many faces became pale, and many voices were hushed. Financial affairs in New York have been looking badly for several weeks, and to-day the impending disaster culminated. The first setback for the "bulls" happened just after the opening. Ben. Vandergrift was "bulling"—bidding for fifty thousand barrel blocks, when he did not want any. He opened his eyes pretty wide when Arter of Beggs & Co., let him have fifty thousand. Prices dragged along until about eleven o'clock when the cyclone struck the market. Watson was sitting in the smoking gallery overlooking the "bull ring," and bidding in a joking tone for fifty thousand barrels. No sooner did he utter the words than Arter quietly said, "You've got it." Watson now became excited and standing up leaned over the railing, and with the evident intention of holding the market, yelled, "A hundred?" Arter said, "Yes." Watson again, "A hundred and fifty?" Another, "Yes." Watson again, "Two hundred?" Still another, "Yes."

At this moment Watson received a telegram and hurriedly climbing down the winding stair, flew to the "ring," and commenced unloading in twenty-five, fifty, and one hundred thousand barrel lots. This was kept up with short intervals all the rest of the day, until he must have sold at least two millions of barrels. Prices went down on nearly every sale. The report spread through the Exchange about the failure of the New York banking firm of Grant and Ward, and the Marine National Bank of that city. The lobby soon filled up, many of the visitors being business men who came to see the excitement.

Although many a man's fortune was lost, I feel happy, as the market is going the way I want it to. In this business

the old adage is very appropriate, "One man's loss is another man's gain."

May 13, 1884.

To-day I "covered" the last five thousand barrels of my "shorts" at 93¾, which leaves my net profit eighty-two dollars and fifty cents, instead of a loss of seventeen hundred dollars, which would have been the case had I "covered" a week ago. This afternoon I was at McKeesport attending the funeral of an old school teacher of mine, and although depressed at my friend's death, I could scarcely refrain from thinking how fortunate I was in getting out of my trouble.

May 14, 1884.

Another day of intense excitement. When it was announced that the Metropolitan National Bank of New York had failed, prices dropped ten cents in a short time, going down in jumps. Brokers were running to and from the railing consulting their principals in the lobby. The gate-keeper was hoarse with the constant shouting of brokers' names. The lobby kept white-faced silence as they saw the accumulations of years being swept away in the maelstrom of speculation. "Margins" were soon exhausted with many; and a large amount of "long" oil was consequently dumped on the market at ruinous prices. The news from the East was bad enough, but rumor painted it in still darker colors. The six or seven failures were exaggerated into a dozen or fifteen. The excitement of the panic in Wall Street seemed to be reflected in every face here.

There have been quite a number of young bloods hanging about the railing lately, as it is considered fashionable to speculate. They are looking pale and disheartened. I am now a disinterested spectator being neither "long" nor "short," hence can view the market without feelings of either joy or sorrow.

May 19, 1884.

I am now a full fledged "Broker in Petroleum." I received my business cards from the printer a few days ago. I spent a good deal of time on the statistics which are printed on the back of the cards. I collected the figures on pro-

duction, consumption, amount added to stocks, amount drawn from stocks, accumulations, and highest and lowest average prices for the years beginning with 1867 and ending with 1883. I want something which is unique, something which will prove valuable, although I am not fool enough to imagine that the information on the cards will serve as an index to speculate by. In small type my cards have printed on them, "Petroleum bought and sold on margins and for cash, strictly on commission," and under this are the words: "Refer by permission to"—here are inserted the names of several persons who have allowed me to use their names as references. I had a thousand cards printed. My plans are vague but extensive. In a few days I will mail about half of the cards to the banks, and insurance companies in the city and country towns where there are people who speculate. My plans have somewhat the appearance of an air castle. I intend after a while to add stocks and grain to my business; and in the end establish a private banking house, and perhaps eventually,—who knows—remove to New York and live among the other financial kings.

I am ready for business when the oldest brokers on the floor wish they were out of it; when banks are toppling and credit is gone. People tell me it is a poor time to engage in this precarious business, but I will try it.

I am determined to be a conscientious broker; I will never tempt any one into oil speculation. I know it would be leading them into danger. I have discouraged several of my friends from touching oil. I will try to get persons who are speculating to deal with me, but I never intend to advise customers what to do; they can guess as well as I, and they are just as likely to make money without my advice as with it. Many brokers are always telling their customers what to do. At one time they say oil must come down; to look at the forty millions of barrels above ground. A few days later they change their tune and declare, "She's bound to go up, the old wells are all giving out, and there is no new field in view." They even quote the opinion of geologists, who they claim have already defined the oil belt. I believe most of these brokers are honest in their opinions, but still they sadly mis-

lead their customers. I want to see whether I cannot make brokerage an honest calling.

This morning I executed my first orders. Mr. A.—, a retired manufacturer who lives near us, and who says he is speculating to make a little spending money and for amusement, gave me an order to buy five thousand barrels at 74¾. An acquaintance of his, a Mr. H.—, a lumberman from West Virginia, who had dropped in to see the excitement, and was seduced thereby and by what Mr. A.— had done, gave me an order for five thousand barrels at 74½. He had no money with him, but was so anxious to get oil that he asked me if I would accept as "margins," a note which he had received from a Pittsburgh firm in payment for lumber. He promised to send me a draft for five hundred dollars as soon as he arrived at his home. Knowing that the parties who made the note were responsible, I accepted it. Mr. H.— was much excited, and as prices were descending urged me to hurry and buy the oil; apparently he was afraid it would go up again before he could get any. I confess that I blushed as I went to the "bull ring" and executed these orders. Dr. U—, who is a constant visitor in the Exchange, remarked to me that I was too timid to be an oil broker.

The market was panicky all day, going into the upper sixties. Notwithstanding that my two customers are losing, I am happy, having made twenty-five dollars in commissions. I confess to boasting to several of my friends of the amount of money I made out of my first day's brokerage business.

May 20, 1884.

Oil was again panicky, and Mr. A— had me sell his oil at 69⅛, which nets him a loss of two hundred and forty dollars and fifty cents.

John B—, a friend of mine, gave me two hundred dollars as "margins" for oil, and asked me to buy one thousand barrels for him. I advised him against doing anything at present.

May 21, 1884.

I was dumbfounded this afternoon when informed that the Penn Bank had suspended payments. I had heard vague whisperings about it around the "ring," but nobody could give any definite information. I thought it was only a ma-

licious lie promulgated by members of the Exchange who are supposed to be antagonistic to the Penn Bank crowd. Suddenly I saw Beal, who with Watson is alleged to represent the Penn Bank in the Exchange, pale faced and excited, with one hand clutched in his hair, selling huge blocks of oil at whatever price he could obtain. When told by persons who had been at the bank, and found the doors closed, and a notice of suspension posted outside, I was dazed. I was shocked to think that an institution of which I had thought so highly, should prove to be so weak; and besides two good friends of mine have large sums of money on deposit there. I intended to remove my own account to the Penn Bank in a few days; it was a close shave for me.

This evening I was told that Beal was selling "short" on the knowledge of the bank's failure and had no oil at all. If Riddle, the president of the bank, gave him the orders to sell, it looks to me like the most cold-blooded scheme imaginable. It is worse than making money by bringing about the death of your own father or mother. I am disgusted with the entire business, and shall take the earliest opportunity of getting out of it. Public sentiment will now be so aroused that all oil brokers and speculators will be frowned upon more than ever.

June 12, 1884.

I sent Mr. H.— a draft for sixty-three dollars and eighty cents, all that remained of his five hundred dollars "margins." I have no doubt he will curse the day when he put his foot in the Oil Exchange, and perhaps curse me, although I am perfectly guiltless. On the second of this month I turned over Mr. H.—'s oil to C. S. Leslie, a broker, and he sold Mr. H— out yesteday, as the "margins" were all gone except the above amount.

My two first and only customers have both fared badly with me, and I have solemnly resolved to do no more brokerage business. If the fools want to gamble, they can do it through some one else.

I gave John B— a check for his two hundred dollars ten days ago. I met Mr. N— to-day and he asked me about oil. I told him I had just closed my oil business and intended to quit the Exchange altogether. He said he thought that was right, as it was no business for me.

(To be continued)

Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association.

The Ohio Valley Historical Association held its eleventh annual meeting in Pittsburgh in the building of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman avenue, Friday and Saturday, November 30 and December 1, 1917.

The Association was formed for the purpose of promoting the study of the history of the Ohio Valley and preserving the records thereof. It embraces a considerable number of persons interested in these matters in the States of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky and Tennessee, including many professors and teachers in educational institutions, as well as men and women prominent in other walks of life.

Justice has not been done in the general histories of the country to the important part played by the Ohio Valley and particularly the portion in and near Pittsburgh in the founding and development of the Nation and it is to remedy this that the Association is pledged. Every intelligent and patriotic citizen of the Valley should therefore be interested in its work and be willing to help it. Each year the Association's proceedings, including the interesting historical papers read, are published and furnished free to its members, who pay one dollar a year dues, there being no initiation fee. All persons interested are invited to become members. This association met in Pittsburgh in October, 1911, at the time of the celebration of the centennial of steamboat navigation on the western rivers, which was suggested by it.

The officers for 1916-17, under whose auspices the meeting was held in Pittsburgh, were: President, Burd S. Patterson, Secretary of Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Vice Presidents, Prof. James R. Robertson, Berea College, Berea, Ky.; Prof. Wilbur H. Seibert, Ohio State University, Columbus; Ex-Governor William A. MacCorkle, Charleston, W. Va.; Prof. Frank P. Goodwin, Cincinnati, O.; Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer, Prof. Christopher B. Coleman, Butler College, Indian-

apolis, Ind.; Recording Secretary and Curator, Prof. Elizabeth Crowther, Western College for Women, Oxford, O.

Executive Committee, the officers of the Association, also the former Presidents: Hon. E. O. Randall, Columbus, O.; Hon. Charles T. Greve, Cincinnati, O.; Prof. I. J. Cox, Cincinnati, O.; Prof. A. B. Hulbert, Marietta, O.; Harry B. Mackoy, Esq., Covington, Ky.; Prof. J. E. Bradford, Miami University, Oxford, O.; Prof. J. M. Callahan, West Virginia University, Morgantown; Prof. H. W. Elson, Thiel College, Greenville, Pa.; Prof. Harlow Lindley, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.; and the following elected by the Association; Dr. H. S. Green, Charleston, W. Va.; Dr. H. J. Webster, University of Pittsburgh; Hon. Samuel M. Wilson, Lexington, Ky.; Prof. Mary G. Young, Oxford, O.

The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania appointed the following committee to assist in the entertainment of the visiting members of the Association: William H. Stevenson, Omar S. Decker, John E. Potter, Dr. William J. Holland, Dr. Samuel B. McCormick, Rev. P. A. McDermott, W. S. Linderman, Mrs. Samuel A. Ammon, Miss Belle S. McMillen, Miss Bess Harnish, Miss Della McMeans, Miss Emma Dare Poole, T. M. Walker, Benjamin Thaw, D. P. Black, George B. Moore, Thomas J. Hawkins, Edward E. Eggers, Charles W. Dahlinger, Thomas Stephen Brown, A. H. Lappe, John Dewar and John P. Cowan.

Owing to war conditions and other matters preventing the attendance of persons who had agreed to read papers or speak, a number of alterations had to be made in the program which was carried out very successfully as follows:

Friday, November 30, 10:30 A. M. Historical Society Building—A paper was read by Miss Mary Meek Atkeson, West Virginia University, Morgantown, on "Writers of West Virginia," which showed much valuable research. Paper, Dr. Christopher B. Coleman, Butler College, Indianapolis, Ind.: "The Ohio Valley in the Preliminaries of the War of 1812." In the absence of Dr. Coleman his interesting paper was read by the President.

At 12:30 P. M., luncheon at the H. J. Heinz Company's establishment was tendered by the company. Prof. J. E.

Bradford, of Miami University, Oxford, O., presided. A paper by Dr. Homer C. Hockett, Ohio State University, Columbus, "The Significance of the Settlement of the Ohio Valley," elicited much favorable comment.

Following an inspection of the H. J. Heinz Company plant, the visitors were taken to the Block House of Fort Pitt.

At 8:15 P. M. there was a large gathering at the Historical Society's building, presided over by Dr. H. W. Elson of Thiel College, Greenville, Pa. A valuable paper was read by Prof. Elizabeth Crowther, Western College for Women, Oxford, O., on "The Work of the Ohio Valley Historical Association in the Present Crisis." Dr. Wilbur H. Seibert, Ohio State University, Columbus, read a very instructive paper on "The Loyalists or Tories of Pennsylvania." A paper by Dr. St. George L. Sioussat, President Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Brown University, Providence, R. I., was an illuminated exposition of the "Early Land Systems in the Ohio Valley." A paper by Col. Henry W. Shoemaker, New York, President Altoona (Pa.) Tribune Company, was entitled "Western Pennsylvania Indian Folk Lore." In the unavoidable absence of Col. Shoemaker, his most excellent paper was read by the President.

Saturday, December 1, 10:30 A. M. Business meeting at the Historical Society building. Officers reports were made and approved. The annual election resulted in the choice of Dr. James R. Robertson, Berea College, Ky., as President and the following Vice Presidents: Prof. Wilbur H. Seibert, Ohio State University, Ex-Gov. William A. MacCorkle, Charleston, W. Va.; Prof. Homer C. Hockett, Ohio State University; William H. Stevenson, President of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh. All the other officers and executive committee members were re-elected.

At 12:15 there was a luncheon at the William Penn Hotel under the auspices of the Pittsburgh Commercial Club, presided over by Ira C. Harper, President of the club. Dr.

William J. Holland, Director of the Pittsburgh Carnegie Museum, acted as toastmaster, and read a couple of interesting old letters. Prof. J. M. Callahan of West Virginia read a very interesting paper on "Illustrations of the Value of Local History in the Study of National History." Gov. John J. Cornwell, of West Virginia, and W. M. Foulke of Charleston, State Archivist, of West Virginia, made entertaining talks.

In the afternoon a number of the visitors inspected the Carnegie Institute.

At 6:30 P. M. a banquet was held at the Hotel Schenley, presided over by Burd S. Patterson, President of the Association. William H. Stevenson, President of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, acted as toastmaster. The retiring President, Mr. Patterson, read a paper on "The Ohio Valley's Proper Place in History." Dr. James R. Robertson, the President-elect, read a thoughtful and comprehensive paper on "The Last Decade in the Ohio Valley." Gov. John J. Cornwell, of West Virginia, made an eloquent and most interesting address on the relations between Pittsburgh and West Virginia and the interest this section had in the triumph of the Allies in the present great war. He declared that if Germany is now permitted to make peace terms she would retain the great iron mines and furnaces of France and Belgium and with theirs and her own coal resources she would dominate the manufacturing world to the disadvantage of Pittsburgh and the whole Ohio Valley. Interesting and entertaining talks were also made by Wilson M. Foulk, State Archivist of West Virginia; Prof. St. George L. Sioussat; Prof. Homer C. Hockett, and Dr. Samuel B. McCormick, Chancellor of the University of Pittsburgh. The evening's program was the most interesting of the kind ever presented in Pittsburgh. The whole meeting was in fact characterized by the excellency of the various papers read and the speeches made. They will be in due time printed in the annual report of the Association.

Some of the points made in President Patterson's paper were the following:

That the New England and other Eastern Historians had failed to do anything like justice to the part played by

the Ohio Valley and its people in the founding and upbuilding of the Nation. He then recited many events of the first importance which had happened in the valley or been performed by its people. He claimed but for these the Nation might to-day be confined within the region between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic and the British and other flags be flying over the rest of the present United States. He showed that eleven Presidents came from the Ohio Valley or did their most important work there and that Washington learned war and diplomacy in the valley. He said that when the valley's own historians wrote its history those of the East would get a severe shock. In conclusion he said:

"Great as has been and is the Ohio Valley, much greater things are in store for it. The Ohio River has been called the Rhine of America, but when our river comes into its own the German stream will fade into insignificance beside it. For when the Ohio River is properly improved all the way from Pittsburgh to Cairo and its great tributaries are also similarly improved and its waters are connected with those of the Great Lakes by the now assured Lake Erie and Ohio River canal, first projected by George Washington, then will this great valley prosper as never before. Its industrial supremacy will be forever assured. Great vessels will depart from its ports for all parts of the world. Thousands of tourists will traverse the beautiful Ohio and make their voyages to the lakes and to New York harbor in one direction and to the Mississippi, the Gulf and the Panama Canal in the other. Then will the Ohio Valley and its people reach their true and mightiest estate and stand forever as the bulwark of freedom and democracy throughout the world. Then will Abraham Lincoln's prophetic words that this nation could not endure half slave and half free with the aid of the mighty people of this great valley be broadened and consolidated into the even greater and forever enduring truth that this world cannot endure half autocratic and half democratic, but that everywhere throughout its whole extent all men shall be free and equal and entitled to the peaceful pursuit of life, liberty and happiness.

Valuable Records of Pittsburgh Sanitary Fair (1864) Are Rescued From Rubbish Heap.

Documentary proof of the patriotic generosity of the people of Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania in providing for their soldiers in the 60's is furnished in two old ledgers, relics of the Pittsburgh Sanitary Fair, which lately have come into the possession of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania through the courtesy of Mr. Wilson A. Shaw, of the Bank of Pittsburgh, N. A. In a letter to President William H. Stevenson tendering the books to the Society, Mr. Shaw wrote: "These records of the Pittsburgh Sanitary Fair were among some old rubbish in my office and fortunately were rescued from the 'dump.' I think the place for them is in the Historical Society building."

The Sanitary Fair was held in the summer of 1864 and during the same period subscriptions were solicited throughout the western counties of the State for the soldiers' and sailors' fund. The response to this "Red Triangle" campaign of more than half a century ago, according to the balance sheet in the old cash book, was $361,516.17. The list of contributors contains the names of about 2,000 individuals, churches, societies, business firms and institutions. There were a few instances indicating an exception to the local character of the enterprise, hinted in the following entry:

Aug. 1—Friends in Derry, Ireland ____$15

N. Holmes was treasurer of the Sanitary Fair Fund and D. C. Clapp was cashier. The fair opened June 1, 1864, and the cash book shows that the receipts on this day were $14,494.23. Of the amount $15 was charged off to profit and loss, it being noted that this sum in counterfeit money turned up in the receipts. Sales in the "ladies' bazar" on this day netted $4,296.10 and tickets of admission amounted to $5,730.66. The total receipts from the fair reached $156,088.65.

List of Articles Presented to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

October, 1916—December, 1917

Misses Mary and Louise Dippold, October 20, 1916—Old cradle; spinning wheel; a swift (for carding flax); a pair of wool reeds; a pair of old skates; a pair of candle moulds; and a lantern that was used in going from Sweet-Water to Ft. MacIntosh, all belonging to pioneer settlers of Western Pennsylvania.

Miss Marian Garrett, October 30, 1916—An old family adviser; a glass perfumery bottle; a snuff box, and a match box, all about the year 1765; a glass cane made in the Phillips glassworks about 70 years ago and presented to Mr. John Garrett by Col. William Phillips; also an old parchment.

Mrs. William LeRoy Shanor, November 27, 1916—The first copy of the Philadelphia Public Ledger, published March 25th, 1836.

Miss Mary I. R. Semple, December 10, 1916—The minute-book of the Nathaniel Medford Club (which was organized in Pittsburgh in 1864) also the minute-book of the Fortnightly Club.

Mrs. Philip Kussart, January 30, 1917—A small picture of Albert Gallatin; a small picture of New Genoa, Fayette county, Pennsylvania, which was founded by Gallatin in 1797, and called Geneva for his native home in Switzerland; also a picture of his tomb.

Mr. Charles A. Weber, February 27, 1917—A valuable docket belonging to Squire Gazzam of Pittsburgh for the years 1802-1804.

Mr. H. P. Dilworth, March 2, 1917—A historic cane made from a piece of wood taken from Lafayette Hall, birthplace of the Republican party in Pittsburgh, in 1856.

Mr. O. S. Decker, March 21, 1917—A complete set of the fifth and sixth series of the Pennsylvania Archives.

Miss Alice B. Lothrop, April 3, 1917—Two historic rings; a Confederate note; two interesting letters written during the War of the Secession by Captain William A. Stockton of the One Hundred and Fortieth Regiment, First Division, Second Army Corps; and a tobacco-pouch that belonged to General James Longstreet.

Mrs. R. A. McKee, April 7, 1917—Three boxes of historical books belonging to the late Jacob Reel.

Messrs. William H. and J. B. Stevenson, April 24, 1917—Minute-book of the Harper Zouaves (a company organized for home defense in May, 1861, of which Mr. George K. Stevenson was quartermaster sergeant and secretary).

Judge Charles F. McKenna, April 27, 1917—A picture of the Bonnie Scotch booth taken at the Sanitary Fair held in Allegheny City in 1864 for the benefit of the United States Sanitary Commission work.

Mrs. Sarah G. Boggs, June 29, 1917—View of the City of Pittsburgh in 1817.

Mr. T. M. Walker, June 30, 1917—The original manuscript of "Willie, My Brave," by Stephen C. Foster.

Mr. Oliver McClintock, July 6, 1917—A silver medal awarded to Mr. Oliver McClintock in 1882 by the Pennsylvania State Agricultural Society.

Miss Mary Wilkins, September 29, 1917—By bequest of the late Mrs. Heppie Wilkins Hamilton an English roasting jack which was brought by her parents to this country from England in 1848.

Mrs. J. G. Little, October 12, 1917—A large picture copy of the "Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America."

Mr. George M. Lehman, October 13, 1917—A large picture of Washington Irving and His Literary Friends at Sunnyside.

Mr. Burd S. Patterson, October 22, 1917—Two of Francis Jenkins Olcott's latest books, "The Red Indian Fairy Book" and "Bible Stories to Read and Tell."

During September and October the Society received a number of historical books and pamphlets from Mr. John W. Jordan, of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Mr. Christopher Wren, of the Wyoming Historical Society; Mr. R. N. Davis, of the Lackawanna Institute of History and Science, Scranton, Pa.; Prof. W. McNeil Dixon, of the University of Glasgow, Scotland, and Sir Gilbert Parker, of London, England.

The Society is indebted to its President, Mr. William H. Stevenson, for a finely mounted moose head which has been placed in an appropriate position in the library.

Notes and Queries.

PITTSBURGH NINETY YEARS AGO.—An interesting contemporary description of Pittsburgh, as it appeared about 1827-30, is contained in Davenport's Gazetteer of North America, published in Philadelphia in 1838. A rare copy of this edition of the book has been donated to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. It is interesting to note that in those days Pittsburgh was located on the map by designating its distance and direction from places like Baltimore and Lexington, Ky. In the 30's the geographers dropped the "h" in spelling Pittsburgh, and used the "a" in Allegheny. The article in the Gazetteer follows:

PITTSBURG, city, and cap. Alleghany co. Pa. 230 m. WNW. from Baltimore, 297 W. by N. from Philadelphia, 335 from Lexington, Ken. 1,100 from New Orleans by land and 2,000 by water, and 223 from W. It is situated on a beautiful plain, on a broad point of land, where the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela forms the Ohio. The suburbs of Pittsburg are Alleghanytown, Northern Liberties, Birmingham on the south bank of the Monongahela, Lawrenceville-East Liberty, and remainder of Pitt township. Population of the city proper 12,540, and of the suburbs 9,983. Total, 22,433. The town is compactly, and in some streets handsomely built; although the universal use of pit coal for culinary and manufacturing purposes has carried such quantities of fine black matter, driven off in the smoke into the air, and deposited it on the walls of the houses, and everything, that can be blackened with coal smoke, as to have given the town a gloomy aspect. Its position and advantages, as a manufacturing town, and its acknowledged healthfulness, will continue, however, to render it a place of attraction for builders, manufacturers, and capitalists. At the present time the following articles are manufactured on a great scale; iron-mongery of every description, steam engines, and enginery, and iron work in general; cutlery of all descriptions; glass and paper, copper, and woolens, pottery, chemicals, tin, and copper ware are manufactured and exported to a great extent. Boat and steamboat building have been pursued here on a greater scale than in any other town in the western country. So long ago as 1814, 4,055 wagons of four and six horses, employed as transport wagons, passed between this place and Philadelphia. Boats of the smaller kinds are continually departing down the river at all seasons when the waters will admit. In moderate stages of the river, great numbers of steam-boats arrive, and depart. Large contracts are continually ordered from all the towns on the waters of the Ohio and Mississippi, for machinery, steam-boat castings, and the various manufactures it produces. It (the city) is supplied with water by a high-pressure steam engine of 84 horse power, which raises the water 116 feet above the Alleghany river. A million and a half gallons of

water can be raised in 24 hours. These works went into operation in 1828. The churches in this city are a Baptist, Roman Catholic, Covenanters', Seceders', a Methodist church, German Lutheran church, Union church, Episcopal church, first and second Presbyterian churches, Unitarian church, second Methodist church, and an African church, making a total of 13. The other public buildings are the Western University of Pennsylvania, Pittsburg High School, Pittsburg Exchange, Mansion House, and hotel, Lambdin's Museum, the U. S. Bank, and the Pittsburg Bank. There are 11 large establishments of iron foundries, in which were manufactured from pigs, in 1830, 5,392 tons. There are six rolling mills and iron works with nail factories attached, in which were manufactured in the same year 7,950 tons of pigs into blooms, and 2,805 tons into nails. There are four large cotton factories, in the largest of which are 10,000 spindles, spinning 1,400 pounds of yarn weekly. There are two large establishments of glass works, and 270 other large manufacturing establishments of a miscellaneous character. This city has immense advantages of artificial as well as natural water communications. The great Pennsylvania canal, over 500 miles in length, terminates here. Another canal is laid out to connect it with Lake Erie through Meadville; and still a third is proposed to the mouth of Mahoning, where it will connect with a branch of the Ohio and Erie canal from its summit head.

The Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, corresponding secretary and librarian of the Wyoming Valley Historical Society and genealogist of distinguished Virginia families, whose death occurred at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., during the past summer, was rector of St. John's Episcopal church, West Brownsville, Pa., from 1873 to 1879. He was born in Catonsville, Md., in 1837, and educated in St. Timothy's Hall Military College and Kenyon College. In the War of the Secession he enlisted in the Confederate army, serving three years in Gen. J. E. B. Stuart's cavalry. He was discharged December 31, 1864, to complete his theological studies and re-enlisted as a chaplain. He was ordained a deacon in 1867 and advanced to the priesthood the following year. He was rector of Christ church, Point Pleasant, W. Va., from 1867 until coming to West Brownsville. From 1879 to 1912 he was assistant in St. Stephen's church, Wilkes-Barre, after which he was assistant emeritus. He was a member of the Order of the Cincinnati, the Sons of the Revolution and other patriotic societies. Active in the work of many of the leading historical organizations, he was an ardent student of history and genealogy. He was the author of "History of West Virginia Soldiers' Medals," "The Weitzel Memorial," "Virginia Genealogies" and numerous books and pamphlets on historical subjects.

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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Eldersridge Academy.

BY MISS MARGUERITE M. ELDER.*

To those interested in the pioneer educational institutions of Western Pennsylvania, the history of Eldersridge Academy is full of romantic interest. Beginning in a log cabin, far removed from any commercial or literary center; continuing for six decades without a dollar of endowment or outside aid, it has become known from sea to sea, and its far-reaching influence has encircled the globe.

In the southwestern part of Indiana County, is a section of country full of rural charm and rustic beauty, known as Eldersridge. Its boundary line has always been somewhat of a mystery, but the suburbs of the little village are generously extensive.

Robert Elder, the pioneer settler of this region, belonged to a sturdy, Scotch-Irish people, who had settled east of the mountains many years before. Rev. John Elder, known as the "fighting parson," and the colonel of the "Paxton Rangers" in Indian warfare days, was his cousin. Joshua Elder, the surveyor, was also a near relative and gave Robert Elder the large tract of land in Western Pennsylvania, to which he moved with his family in 1786. Here, in an

*Read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, January 30th, 1917.

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uncleared section, he built his forest home which served as a residence and a blockhouse too, for the red man was not entirely willing to abandon his favored haunts for the white intruder. The main turnpike being some distance from this region, only an occasional newcomer found his way across the mountains to this remote settlement until the completion in 1829 of the Pennsylvania Canal and Portage Railroad connecting Columbia on the Susquehanna River with Pittsburgh on the Ohio. Travelers now found the trip across the mountains more comfortable and the forests of Western Pennsylvania more alluring. These sturdy, substantial people brought with them frugal and virtuous habits, a noble purpose and consistent religious customs.

A little company of worshippers from widely scattered homes organized the Eldersridge Presbyterian Church in 1830. They had no pastor for several years, but were supplied at intervals, by visiting ministers who traveled about, holding services in the scattered mission churches. As yet, free schools and free schoolhouses were unknown, and the educational advantages for the children of the settlers were meager and primitive. In the renowned Ligonier Valley on August 30th, 1808, there was born a boy who was destined to become the pastor of this little band of simple-hearted worshippers, a father and leader for the community, whose name and fame should become so well known.

Alexander Donaldson came of heroic Scotch-Irish ancestry. His grandfather and his great grandfather were among the pioneers that were massacred by the Indians in Westmoreland County. His parents were deeply religious and he was faithfully grounded in the doctrines of the Calvainistic faith. He often declared that the ease with which he could acquire a new language in later life was due to the fact that at the age of four years he could recite the Presbyterian Shorter Catechism from first to last.

After a heroic struggle to get an education, he graduated from Jefferson College in 1835 and from the Western Theological Seminary in 1838. He was installed as pastor at Eldersridge on June 30th, 1839. Here, Dr. Donaldson's work as an educator began, almost without his planning for

it. On the day he was ordained, a young man, afterwards known as Dr. John McAdoo of West Lebanon, began reciting to him and very soon other ambitious boys sought the same privilege. The number increased steadily until, in 1845, the attention of the public and the scholarly began to turn with some degree of interest to Eldersridge.

The venerable Dr. Matthew Brown, president of Jefferson College, urged upon the young pastor and teacher, the importance of organizing a first class academy.

It was represented as a vital matter, involving much of the civil, social and religious interest of the community, and a department of usefulness for which he was eminently qualified both by nature and by education. The private recitation room was a small log cabin, built for domestic purposes but used as a pastor's study. Here Eldersridge Academy was regularly organized on the 16th of April, 1847, and this widely known institution began its useful career. The able assistance of Mr. John M. Barnett, a graduate of Jefferson College, was secured. Thirty-one students were enrolled the first year and the attendance increased until in 1854 we find an enrollment of 113 students, gathered from a widely scattered territory. The cabin had served its time, so a new frame building was erected which in 1852 gave place to a substantial, two-story, brick building, containing school rooms and society halls.

Throughout his life Dr. Donaldson had a passion for linguistic studies and during his ministry he read the Old Testament in Hebrew, Greek, Latin and German, and the New Testament in Greek, Latin and German. It is not strange that the energy of the school in its early days, was expended in the line of classical and college preparatory work, although a normal course was added as the times seemed to demand.

The assistants succeeding Mr. Barnett were always well trained, scholarly men and such names as John M. McElroy, J. C. Thom, Matthew Clark and many others appear on the pages of the early catalogues.

In 1855, T. B. Elder, better known to the students as "T. B.," became Dr. Donaldson's assistant, and, with the

exception of an occasional year, he was connected with the institution for more than 35 years and was a potent factor in the training of some three thousand students, to each of whom he was a personal friend. One of these same boys paid this tribute to his memory: "We loved and revered him for his wit and worth, his moral fibre and his scholarly instincts, his teaching genius, and his modest, unselfish devotion to those who were under his care."

Another able assistant, who was a resident of Eldersridge, was Honorable S. J. Craighead. He was connected with the Academy, first as a student and then as an instructor for a number of years, during which time he was honored and respected by all who knew him.

As early as 1849, a woman's department was opened under the charge of Miss Martha Bracken and was carried on successfully, receiving a generous share of public patronage until 1858, when it was necessary to abandon it on account of the extreme difficulty of procuring suitable boarding places for ladies. Some years later, however, the Academy admitted the ladies upon condition that they would keep up with the boys in their class work, and its doors have never since been closed to the fair sex.

One of the effective, molding influences of the student body and of the Eldersridge community was the Society for Religious Inquiry which early became an interesting part of the Academic organization. Its purpose was to promote a vital interest in topics of a religious and missionary character, and through its influence, not a few students devoted their lives to mission work, both in the home and foreign fields.

It is interesting to note that of the three ministers, namely, John M. Barnett, J. Irwin Smith, and T. R. Elder, who organized the Presbytery of Lake Superior, the latter two, and the wives of the three were members of this helpful society.

Another valuable organization for the benefit of the students was the Amphisbeteon Literary Society. From the beginning of the Academy this society had a standard much higher than that of the ordinary academic societies,

and the literary entertainments at the close of the sessions would have done credit to a first class college. Each program contained orations in Greek, Latin, French and German. On some of the programs of the "60's," we find original orations on such subjects as "Jefferson Davis's Vindication," "Revolutions—A Nation's Education," "The Archimedean Lever," "Spain and the Spaniard," "Napoleon's Russian Campaign," "Something is Rotten in Denmark," "Horrors of War," "The Hand of Destiny in the East," "The Wane of the Crescent," and others of like character.

As the attendance increased, it was thought best to have two literary societies, so the Amphisbeteon gave place to the Matheteon and Ereuneteon societies. The annual contests between these societies were of intense interest to the students and, indeed, to the entire community. While not so demonstrative as the modern football game, the excitement was equally strenuous. The standard was high, and the eager contestant would train carefully for weeks, in order that he might excel his equally ambitious rival. Boys trained in these societies were frequently successful orators during their college life. Such questions for debate as "Was the Noachian Deluge Universal?" might be beyond the ability of the Schenley High School boy to discuss, but the students at Eldersridge could handle them skillfully.

The "rural repose" and "sheltered quiet" of this peaceful and substantial community had a refining influence upon the students gathered there. There were no slums, no saloons, and, in fact, no degrading influences to undo the constructive forces of the institution. The boy that had tasted somewhat of the follies and dissipations of city life, acquired a healthy tone of mind, a manliness and simplicity of manners that the city school can seldom secure. The boarding accommodations were limited and many students were taken into the homes of the neighborhood to room and board, paying the magnificent sum of two dollars per week and enjoying all the privileges of the best families. It has been the loving testimony of many of these students in after years that they "looked longingly back to these fond

scenes and native hills, as an exiled Swiss to his Alpine home."

In the early days, the needs of the students were largely dependent upon the community, as the nearest postoffice was three miles distant, and the nearest point on the Canal was four miles away. The sturdy team of the industrious farmer was usually available to haul the students to and fro, not at modern "taxi" rates but, frequently free.

The permanent growth and popularity of Eldersridge Academy, however, was in a large measure due to the charming and forceful personality of Dr. Donaldson. Having known the stern discipline of "pinching poverty" his warm and generous heart took into its "roomy embrace" all those who came within the sphere of his influence. He always felt a deep personal interest in their individual welfare. There was something in his "known goodness" and "real greatness" that hedged him about with respect, but he was always responsive to the lively enthusiasm of hopeful youth. His face was usually radiant with good humor as he would meet the students assembled for the morning exercise. Sometimes, he took occasion to admonish for the infraction of rules, "goad the tardy and stir up the dilatory." His own life was so strenuous with his teaching in the Academy five days in the week, and preaching to two congregations four miles apart every Sunday, that the sight of a loafer was an abhorrence and a vexation to him. So well was this known that his approach toward the village store was a signal for the loafing student to suddenly disappear around some corner, or beat a hasty retreat to the nearest boarding house. The sins of profanity, card playing, Sabbath-breaking and intemperance he "denounced with fierce and fiery earnestness." He did not believe in "giving to knowledge a liberality that throws character into the shade." Few students were able to forget the intensity of feeling with which he would "scathe and scorch" the offense and denounce the offender. The habitual smoker, he said, was not any more acceptable to polite society than a "skunk." So emphatic was he on the subject of temperance that students have been known to take cider through straws from a

jug securely buried in the ground, and often decks of cards, when not in use were carefully concealed in an abandoned well nearby.

But this "Grand Old Man" had few equals in this conscientious, painstaking interest in the training of those committed to his care.

In 1876, Dr. Donaldson gave the Academy property over to a Board of Trustees to be kept in perpetuity, but he remained the honored head and continued teaching until almost the time of his death in 1889.

The list of Eldersridge Alumni who are worthy of extended notice is a very long one. Some two hundred or more are in the city of Pittsburgh and vicinity. The limits of time preclude even the naming of many, but I wish to speak first of the remarkable careers of some who were students during the early years of the Academy's history.

Dr. Hunter Corbett, one of the pioneer missionaries to China, has recently celebrated his eighty-first birthday, and also, the fiftieth anniversary of an academy for boys founded by him in Chefoo, China. After completing his education at Eldersridge Academy, Jefferson College and the Theological Seminary, he sailed for China in the summer of 1863. A six months' voyage around the Cape of Good Hope brought him to his chosen field, an unwelcome intruder, but, at the age of eighty-one, he is still active and energetic in missionary work and is revered and loved by the Chinese people.

On "India's coral strand" Dr. Ellwood Wherry and his sister, Mary, have spent their lives in missionary labors. They were reared in Dr. Donaldson's West Lebanon congregation and were students at the Academy. Dr. Will Anderson is another student who has been in India for more than twenty-five years. Also, the late Dr. Arthur Ewing, for over twenty years connected with a boys' academy in Allahabad, India, whose untimely death has been so much lamented, was a man of wonderful energy and achievement.

Siam too, had its representative in Dr. John B. Dunlap; Africa, its Dr. Robinson, and Mexico, its Dr. Freeman Wallace. Tillie Wray Lee has given her life to fight the demon of Mormonism in shackled Utah.

Among the one hundred and fifty ministers who have gone out from Eldersridge Academy many have attained rare distinction. On a commencement program, dated 1858, we find a boy from Westmoreland County, scheduled for a Greek oration, the subject of which was "Ho Barbitos ton kelion Kordon." The boy's name was S. J. Nicholls. Some years later we find him the pastor of one of the leading church of St. Louis and later still, moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, but always with a heart full of devotion for his teacher and friend, Dr. Donaldson. Other names on this distinguished roll that should be noted are Dr. T. D. Wallace of Chicago, Dr. S. D. McConnell of Philadelphia, Dr. W. W. Moorhead of Greensburg, Dr. J. D. Moorhead of Beaver Falls, and Dr. J. S. Elder of Clarion, and many others of equal prominence and usefulness.

In the realm of science, Charles H. Townsend has attained world renown. For many years, he has been a member of the United States Fish Commission. He was on the government vessel, "Albatross," when it made its famous trip of forty thousand miles, exploring the mysteries of deep sea life in southern waters with such great men for companions as Professor Agassiz of Boston. Mr. Townsend has also written many valuable books on scientific discoveries.

Of some eighty physicians, who at one time were Eldersridge boys, Pittsburgh has a liberal number. The late Dr. T. D. Davis, a former member of this Historical Society, was a man remarkably useful in every department of city life. At the time of his death about one year ago, a leading paper of our city paid this high tribute to his memory. "While Dr. T. D. Davis, the beloved physician, practiced medicine in Pittsburgh for a generation, his work in behalf of the community was not bounded by the limits of his professional duties. A mere enumeration of the offices of honor and responsibility he had held is sufficient to show his fellow citizens' estimate of his ability. An elder of the Presbyterian Church for more than forty years; president of the American Academy of Medicine, president of the

Pittsburgh Academy of Science and Art; trustee of the Western Theological Seminary; these are but a few of the positions which enlisted Dr. Davis's unselfish services, and with them all, he ministered faithfully to the needs of his host of patients."

Among others were the late Dr. Stausburg Sutton, distinguished as a surgeon; the late Dr. Thomas McCann and Dr. Thomas Gallaher.

At the Pittsburgh bar, as well as in other cities and nearby towns, are judges, district attorneys, congressmen, corporation lawyers and pleaders of unusual prominence. A few years since, the names of Judge James S. Young, of United States District Court; Judge Samuel A. McClung, of the Allegheny County Court, Lewis McMullen and D. W. Elder were familiar to all. At the present time, Colonel James E. Barnett, W. S. Thomas and R. R. Elder, and many others appear on the list of city attorneys. In Indiana, Attorney John A. Scott, at present a member of the State Compensation Commission, and Honorable M. C. Watson; in Greensburg, Congressman E. E. Robbins; in Greenville, Honorable Harry Watson, and in Philadelphia, former Attorney-General John A. Bell belonged to this honored lawyer-alumni.

Among those who have attained success as writers, Dr. S. S. Gilson deserves a place of high rank. He was at one time Associate Editor of the "Herald and Presbyter" of Cincinnati, and later, has been a writer for the Pittsburgh papers. He has the unique distinction of having reported the proceedings of the Presbyterian General Assembly for more than forty-five years. The late James S. Swank of Philadelphia, was the able editor of the "Iron Age" for many years, and was the author of a very interesting and valuable history of Pennsylvania.

The name of H. I. Tourley is well known to many, he having held the office of Mayor and Controller in Pittsburgh a few years since. His roommate at the Academy was the late S. P. Harbison, a very successful financier and well known for his generous and beneficent gifts.

During the Civil War, many students enlisted to de-

fend the nation's honor. J. D. Elder fell at Malvern Hill; Matthew Smith at a later battle; a representative was on Sherman's staff during his famous march from Atlanta to the sea, while others served until Lee surrendered at Appomattox.

In other walks of life, the Eldersridge boys have been and are useful and successful citizens.

In these days of million-dollar endowments, magnificent buildings, extensive and expensive equipment, does it not seem almost marvelous that this school in a rural community with no endowment and very meager equipment could have been such a power for good for more than half a century?

In recent years, on account of the steady march of industrial development and the demand for Normal schools, the Classical Academy has had to give way. Not long ago, the property of this honored institution was taken over by the State and a first class Vocational High School is carried on successfully at the present time, but the high ideals and sweet memories of the old Academy still linger, and its benign influence, who can measure as it goes on and on through ages yet to come.

Indian Songs.

Love.

It is my form and person that makes me great.
Hear the voice of my song—it is my voice.
I shield myself with secret coverings.
All your thoughts are known to me—blush!
I could draw you hence, were you on a distant island;
Though you were on the other hemisphere.
I speak to your naked heart.

War.

I.

I wish for the speed of a bird, to pounce on the enemy.
I look to the morning star to guide my steps.
I devote my body to battle.
I take courage from the flight of eagles.
I am willing to be numbered with the slain.
For even then my name shall be repeated with praise.

II.

The eagles scream on high,
They whet their forked beaks;
Raise—raise the battle-cry,
'Tis fame our leader seeks.
The batle-birds swoop from the sky,
They thirst for the warrior's heart;
They look from their circles on high,
And scorn every flesh but the brave.

Death.

I fall—but my body shall lie
A name for the gallant to tell;
The Gods shall repeat it on high,
And young men grow brave at the sound.

—*Schoolcraft's Indian Antiquities.*

The Dawn of the Woman's Movement.

An Account of the Origin and History of the Pennsylvania Married Woman's Property Law of 1848.

BY CHARLES W. DAHLINGER (1)

In these days when the social position of the women is equal to that of the men, and when the women have obtained the political franchise in nine of the United States, (2) and in many of the countries of Europe, it is of interest to lift the curtain from the past, and obtain a view of the beginning of the movement for this equality. Originally it contemplated only an adjustment of the woman's place in the social organism. At first no specific demand was made; there was only the vague complaint that her position was lower than that of man. The arguments covered the whole range of woman's wrongs, but no plan was presented by which is was expected to correct the existing evils. The political equality of woman with man was not agitated. The most obvious wrongs were those sustained by woman in the property rights accorded her upon marriage. This phase of the woman question was already being seriously considered by the men themselves, and it was on this proposition that the men and women united their forces, and inaugurated a campaign, which was the first in the modern war for the equality of women with men.

The men had crowned themselves sovereigns, when they fought the Revolutionary War and broke the cord which bound the country to England. But the women were still enveloped in the medievalism of the common law, which was brought from England, and prevailed in nearly all the states. The pages of *Blackstone's Commentaries* present a vivid

(1) Address delivered on November 2, 1914, before the Woman's Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

(2) This has now been increased to twelve states, and the Territory of Alaska. In six other states women have the presidential suffrage; and in one state they are entitled to vote at primary elections.

picture of the humiliating spectacle. Even today the marriage state is termed coverture, and the wife a *feme covert.* In the old days the husband and wife were styled *baron* and *feme.* The word *baron,* or lord, indicated that the husband was dominant, and that the wife was under his influence and protection. If the *baron* killed his *feme* it was the same as if he had killed an actual stranger, but if the *feme* killed her *baron,* the act was regarded as a much more atrocious crime, because she not only broke through the restraints of humanity and conjugal affection, but threw off all subjection to the authority of her husband. Therefore the law denominated her crime a species of treason, and condemned her to the same punishment as if she had killed the king. Upon marriage her personal property, (1) whether then owned by her or afterward acquired, went to her husband to do with as he pleased. If she earned money during coverture, this also belonged to her husband. The husband was entitled to all the income of her real estate. In only a few of the newer and least populous states, as Louisiana and Florida, and the young territory of California, which had received their laws directly or indirectly from France or Spain where the civil law prevailed, or in states which were influenced by proximity to states whose laws were based on the civil law, like Mississippi, the wife was allowed to retain her separate estate.

The entire movement for the equality of women with men was the result of evolution. The success of the American Revolution had demonstrated the possibilities attainable in free government and in improved social conditions. The French Revolution had shown that the will of the people is supreme above that of kings and nobles. The seeds of both movements were sown all over the continent of Europe; and in the next fifty years they were to again sprout in France; they were to take root and grow in Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece and Poland. The seeds were to be wafted into Germany and Austria-Hungary, where in 1848

(1) James Shouler: *A Treatise on the Law of Domestic Relations,* Fifth Edition, Boston, 1895; Joel Prentiss Bishop: *Commentaries on the Law of Married Women,* Philadelphia, 1871.

and 1849, the burghers and the peasants were to fight against absolutism. In the United States there had been a wonderful material development since the close of the Revolutionary War. Toward the middle of the century railroads were introduced, as was electric telegraph; the post was greatly improved and cheapened, and intercourse between widely separated districts became both easy and expeditious. The radicalism of the Revolution became more pronounced and sometimes degenerated into absurdity. Political parties were born of a passing fancy or prejudice. Monstrosities like the Anti-Masonic party, and the Native American party came into existence. (1) The one owed its rise to the strong antagonism that had developed against the Freemasons, because a large number of the men holding public office belonged to that order, the other had a short-lived but stormy career in attempting the elimination of Roman Catholics and foreigners from public life. Many social problems were discussed. Drunkenness was everywhere in evidence; laity and clergy alike were addicted to the overindulgence in strong drink. One temperance movement succeeded another. The Washingtonian and Father Maythew Societies became a power in the social world, and a proposal was made to abolish wine from the communion table. (2) In New England there arose in 1836, a band of scholars and thinkers, calling themselves Transcendentalists (3) whose aspirations were for the ideal in philosophy, theology, sociology and economics. The high priestess of the movement was Margaret Fuller. She was a young woman of broad culture and poetic temperament, whom Horace Greeley describes as, "the most remarkable, and in some respects the greatest woman America has yet known." Her energy was marvelous. In the autumn of 1839, she began in Boston, a series of conversations exclusively for women. Here she surrounded herself with the most brilliant women of the time,

(1) A. K. McClure: *Old Time Notes of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1905.
(2) Frederick W. Seward: *Seward at Washington as Senator and Secretary of State*, New York, 1891.
(3) *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, Boston, 1852; Horace Greeley: *Recollections of a Busy Life*, New York, 1868.

women whose names, or the names of whose husbands, are better known today, than even seventy-five years ago. Among them were Mrs. George Bancroft, Mrs. Lydia Maria Child, Mrs. Ralph Waldo Emerson, Mrs. Theodore Parker, Miss E. P. Peabody, Mrs. Josiah Quincy and Mrs. George Ripley. In her prospectus Miss Fuller proclaimed the object of her meetings to be: "What were we born to do? and how shall we do it?" The conversations bear the same relation to the woman's movement, that the fight made by the Minute Men of Concord who "fired the shot heard round the world," has to the Revolutionary War.

In 1840 the Transcendentalists began in Boston the publication of a quarterly periodical called the *Dial,* of which Margaret Fuller was editor. In her article, published in 1843, entitled, "The Great Lawsuit," she made such an original and vigorous plea for the political and social equality of women with men, as to attract the attention of thinking men and women, not only in New England, but in the middle states. This essay she expanded the next year into a book called *Woman in the Nineteenth Century.* Her argument is supported by a wealth of facts taken from religion, mythology, history, philosophy, literature and poetry, which none but a person of the widest culture could have produced. In 1845, the book was republished in London (1). In 1855, five years after the author's death, a second edition was published in this country (2) which was reprinted several times that year; and the matter is as fresh and interesting today as it was when the essay appeared in the *Dial.*

Another important factor in awakening interest in woman's rights, was the Anti-Slavery movement. This sectional question had become of absorbing interest. All over the North men and women were declaiming against the iniquity of negro slavery. In New England the Transcendentalists were enlisted in the agitation. In Pennsylvania an intrepid band of Quaker women held public meetings and

(1) Margaret Fuller: *Woman in the Nineteenth Century,* London, 1845.

(2) Margaret Fuller Ossoli: *Woman in the Nineteenth Century,* Boston, 1855.

appeared before the state legislature, creating public sentiment against slavery. On June 21, 1840, a great world Anti-Slavery convention was held in London (1) of which Whittier wrote the stirring words:

> "Yes, let them gather!—Summon forth
> The pledged Philanthropy of Earth,
> From every land, whose hills have heard
> The bugle blast of Freedom waking."

Delegates were present from the Anti-Slavery societies of all the civilized nations of the earth. Among the American and English delegates were many women. The American women were accustomed to speak and vote in Anti-Slavery meetings, but in the London convention all the women were refused seats as delegates. They were deeply humiliated, particularly the Quakers, among whom the equality of women with men was never questioned. The best known of the women delegates from America was Mrs. Lucretia Mott, the courageous little Quaker from Philadelphia. New York had sent Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who was on her wedding journey. The treatment accorded the women delegates caused Mrs. Mott and Mrs. Stanton to set in motion the machinery by means of which the women of the country were years afterward to gain many of their desired ends; and the London convention has become a milestone in the movement for woman's rights.

Mrs. Mott and Mrs. Stanton became the self-appointed leaders in America. They proclaimed the equality of women and men; but they were conservative. The radicalism which for a time assumed that in order to demonstrate their equality, the women must appear as much like the men as possible, and wear a costume consisting of a short skirt over loose Turkish trousers gathered round the ankles called the Bloomer after the woman who was the most conspicuous advocate of its use (2), had not yet developed. The two lead-

(1) Elizabeth Cady Stanton: *Eighty Years and More*, New York, 1898; Anna Davis Hallowell: *James and Lucretia Mott*, Boston, 1884; Elizabeth Cady Stanton and others: *History of Woman Suffrage*, New York, 1881-1887.

(2) Jane Grey Swisshelm: *Half a Century*, Second Edition, Chicago, 1880.

ers were in deadly earnest. They may have lacked the scholarship of Margaret Fuller, but they had the benefit of her powerful presentation of the cause, and they had her name to conjure with. Besides they had made investigations of their own. In preparing to enter upon the crusade they had commenced a course of training intended to fit them for promulgating the propaganada of the rights of women. In the progress of their studies they read among other subjects, the common and the civil law. They became impressed with the fact that their sisters in Louisiana, Florida and Mississippi, were enjoying rights which were denied women in New York and Pennsylvania. They were politicians of no mean ability. Although the indefinite sentiments in regard to women's wrongs had crystalized into explicit charges, they realized how impossible it was in the existing state of public opinion, to secure for women a perfect equality with men; and they began to concentrate their powers in an effort to obtain for married women the right to the enjoyment of their separate property. It was not until three months after this object had been attained in New York and Pennsylvania, that in the obscure town of Seneca Falls, New York, they held the convention which took up the general question of woman's rights.

Also for years reflecting men in the Eastern states, judges, lawyers and laymen, had realized the iniquity of the laws relating to the property rights of married women. A feeling in favor of the enactment of laws giving them the control of their separate property became manifest. In May, 1844, the leading magazine of the day, the *Democratic Review*, published in New York, contained an able exposition of the subject, written by a woman, and approved and adopted by the editor, in which the writer called on the women of the country to awake from their lethargy, and move in the matter, so vital to their sex. (1) To these forces Mrs. Mott, Mrs. Stanton and the other self-sacrificing women whom they had drawn into their train, added their in-

(1) "The Legal Wrongs of Women," *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, Vol. XIV, New York, 1844.

fluence. But the women remained free-lances and fought in their own way, and continued leaders and not followers.

In New York and Pennsylvania, the two most populous states of the republic, the sentiment was stronger than in any of the other states, and here the earliest battles for this reform were fought, and here the first rifts in the clouds of medievalism appeared. In Pennsylvania a combination of circumstances entered into the enactment of the law entitling women to the enjoyment of their separate property. The courts had long recognized the injustice of the law in this respect, and in many instances had saved the estates of married women from the rapacity or culpability of their husbands. The courts required every requisite of the laws relating to the conveyance of lands by married women to be substantially complied with, on failure of which the conveyance was held to be void. In 1820, Judge John Bannister Gibson, of the Supreme Court, afterward chief justice, and conceded to have been the greatest chief justice that the state has yet known, wrote in a case which came before him: (1)

"In no country where the blessings of the common law are felt and acknowledged, are the interests and estates of married women so entirely at the mercy of their husbands, as in Pennsylvania. This * * * * is extenuated by no motive of policy, and is by no means creditable to our jurisprudence."

In the middle of the last century, the two political parties in the United States were the Democratic and Whig parties. The Democratic party was the party of conservatism, as it is now the party of radicalism. It had been in power with few exceptions, for fifty years. The radicalism prevalent in Europe had found its echo in the United States, where one of the forms which it assumed was hypercriticism of the party in power. Also the country was suffering from a severe business depression occasioned, it was said, by the new tariff law enacted in 1846. (2) Consequently at the

(1) *Watson vs. Mercer and Another*, 6 S. & R., 49.
(2) A. K. McClure: *Supra.*

fall election of that year the Democratic party was badly defeated in Pennsylvania, the Whigs carrying both branches of the legislature. In 1848 the Whigs again controlled the Senate, but the Democrats had recovered the House, the result of having the previous year renominated Governor Francis Rawn Shunk. The personal popularity of Governor Shunk had not only assured his own re-election, but had carried the House of Representatives for the Democrats. At the time of his first election to the governorship, Mr. Shunk lived in Pittsburgh, where he practiced law. (1) Here also resided Mrs. Jane Grey Swisshelm, then in the height of her vigorous mentality. In the pages of the *Daily Commercial Journal* of that city, she published a series of piquant letters couched in language that was forceful, sometimes sarcastic, often amusing and always truthful. In these letters (2) she described the distress that was frequently caused by the laws relating to the separate property of married women. In one of her letters she cited as an illustration the case of a husband who, on the death of his wife, to whom he had been married only a short time, had insisted on retaining her personal effects, which had been bequeathed to her sister. In her autobiography (3) Mrs. Swisshelm comments indignantly on the proceeding, and states that this letter "made the cheeks of the men burn with anger and shame." She also contributed occasional letters on the subject to *Neal's Gazette* of Philadelphia. The letters came under the observation of Governor Shunk, and helped to impress him with the necessity of the reform advocated by Mrs. Swisshelm.

The question had agitated the legislature for a number of years. Governor Shunk was already suffering from the fatal malady, which six months later caused him to resign his office and sink into an untimely grave, when at the legis-

(1) William C. Armor: *Lives of the Governors of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1873.
(2) Jane G. Swisshelm: *Daily Commercial Journal*, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, October 28, 1847; December 11, 1847; February 10, 1848; February 17, 1848.
(3) Jane Grey Swisshelm: *Half a Century*, Second Edition, Chicago, 1880.

lative session of 1848, he incorporated in his annual message a clause strongly recommending the enactment of a law giving married women the right to retain their separate property. He made a manly argument: (1) "The liberal and enlightened spirit of the age has developed and secured the rights of man, and has redeemed woman and elevated her from the degrading position she occupied, and placed her where she always should have been, at the side of her husband, his equal in rank and dignity. Then why should her rights of property still be to a great extent controlled by the contracted enactments of an age when her husband was her lord, and he might chastise her by law, as if she were a servant."

The legislature that met in 1848 was radical in its composition. Among the members were more men of ability than is ordinarily found in state legislatures. Some had preconceived opinions in favor of changing the laws relating to the property rights of married women, while many were friendly merely because of Governor Shunk's advocacy of the measure. Others were influenced in this direction by their constituents; still others had been elected solely for the purpose. In Philadelphia Judge John Bouvier whose law dictionary is known among lawyers and law students wherever the English language is spoken, was instrumental in bringing about the candidacy and election of a number of young Quakers, to which sect he belonged, pledged to aid in the enactment of the law. (2)

Numerous bills having in view the revision of these laws, were introduced into the legislature. (3) On January 11th, Thomas S. Fernon, of Philadelphia County, presented a bill in the House of Representatives, and on January 17th, George A. Frick, of Northumberland County, introduced a similar bill. In the Senate William A. Crabb, of the city of Philadelphia, presented a like bill on January 31st. This

(1) *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fourth Series, Vol. VII, Harrisburg, 1902.
(2) Elizabeth Cady Stanton and others: *Supra.*
(3) *Journal of the Senate*, Vol. I, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1848. *Journal of the House of Representatives*, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1848.

was followed the next day, by the bill of William F. Johnston, of Armstrong County, who later in the session was to be elected president of the Senate, and by virtue of this office, a few months afterward, on the resignation of Governor Shunk, succeeded to the governorship. Mr. Johnston reported his bill from committee on February 3rd.

Lucretia Mott, together with Mary Grew, Sara Pugh, Abby Kimber and Elizabeth Neal, the other Philadelphia Quakers who had attended the London Anti-Slavery Convention, entered actively in the work of obtaining signatures to petitions asking for the passage of the law. Their modest gray costumes also became familiar in the halls of legislation at Harrisburg. Their broader claims might be ridiculed and condemned, but in advocating this law they realized that they would receive thoughtful consideration.

Petitions asking for the passage of the law began to pour into the legislature. The residents of the city and county of Philadelphia sent no less than ten petitions; three petitions were received from the people of the state at large. On March 20th, on motion of Mr. Johnston, his bill was passed finally in the Senate, and was immediately sent to the House for concurrence. The session was already drawing to a close, when on April 8th, the bill came up for action in the House. On motion of James K. Kerr, of Crawford County, practically the entire bill was stricken out and another substituted. Then on motion of Mr. Frick, an additional section was added, and with only slight further changes, which in the main were taken from the Senate bill, it was passed in both houses. The bill was incorporated with a heterogenous collection of unrelated bills, either to insure its passage, or the passage of the other bills to which it was attached. Its enactment appears to have been procured by means, which in polite society were termed log rolling, but which among politicians were called by the more imposing name of omnibus legislation; the spirit of reform in the manner of enacting laws, had not yet affected the Pennsylvania legislature.

The incongruous title of the law was "A supplement to, An Act entitled 'An Act relative to the LeRaysville Phalanx,

passed March 13 Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and forty-seven,' and relative to obligors and obligees, to secure the rights of married women, in relation to defalcation, and to extend the boundaries of the Borough of Ligonier." The measure was approved by Governor Shunk on April 11th, the day on which the legislature adjourned, (1) which was only five days after a similar law had been enacted in New York. While Lucretia Mott was doing her best to bring about the passage of the law in her state, Elizabeth Cady Stanton was similarly engaged in New York.

The new law was most comprehensive in scope. It continued in the married women the property owned by them at marriage or afterward acquired, as fully as if they were unmarried. Its disposition by will and under the intestate laws was specifically provided for.

The reception of the law promised much, but the full expectations of its partisans were never realized. The early expressions of the Supreme Court indicated a friendly spirit. In 1849, (2) and again in 1850, (3) Judge Molton C. Rogers rendered decisions in which he held, that since the Act of 1848, married women were for all purposes *feme soles* as to their separate estates. That is to say in respect to such estates they had the same rights as if they were unmarried.

Under the early constitutions of the State the judges were appointed by the governor for life. In 1838 a new constitution was adopted (4) which fixed the tenure of the judges at fifteen years, the terms of the incumbents to expire at intervals of three years. In 1850, an amendment to the constitution was adopted (5) by which the judiciary was made elective, and providing for the expiration of the terms of all the judges in the following year. Judge Gibson and Judge Richard Coulter were the only judges of the Supreme Court in office, who were elected in 1851 under this amendment; the other three judges were succeeded by new men.

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(1) Act of April 11, 1848, P. L. 536.
(2) *Cummings' Appeal*, 11 Pa., 272.
(3) *Goodyear vs. Rumbaugh and wife*, 13 Pa., 480.
(4) *Purdon's Digest*, Eighth Edition, Philadelphia, 1853.
(5) *Ibid.*

The next two years brought further changes. Judge Coulter died on April 20, 1852, and was succeeded by Judge George W. Woodward. The venerable Judge John Bannister Gibson pased away on May 3, 1853, and his successor was Judge John C. Knox.

The judges were all of the dominant Democratic faith, and the Democratic party, as is usually the case with political parties which have had a long lease of power, floated with the tide of public opinion, which had recovered from its short spasm of liberalism, and a year or two after 1848, became strongly reactionary in its tendencies. Reaction indeed was not confined to the United States, but was almost universal. On the continent of Europe the iron heel of despotism was again on the neck of the people. The German National Assembly was dispersed by armed force; the Republic of Hungary lay dead at the feet of Austria and Russia. In France an upstart Napoleon overthrew the republic of which he was president, and made himself emperor. In the United States where the paramount political issue was negro slavery, the reaction appeared as the champion of that institution. The reaction caused the enactment of the odious Fugitive Slave Law which supplied the slaveholders with effective remedies for the recovery of runaway slaves. It brought about the repeal of the Missouri Compromise which had excluded slavery from all of the Louisiana Purchase north of the southern boundary of Missouri, exclusive of that territory. It was responsible for the decision of the Supreme Court in which it was held in the case of Dred Scott, a negro, that Congress had no power to exclude slavery from any of the states and territories. During this period of gloom, the Pennsylvania Married Woman's Property Law of 1848 suffered along with the other liberal ideas which had been developed into distinctive acts, and was rendered all but nugatory by the Supreme Court of the State.

In recent years it has become a custom to criticize the judges of the courts, but it does not become a member of the legal profession to do so, except perhaps when a judge has decided a case against him. At the risk of being con-

sidered heterodox, however, I will say that I believe that at this time the majority of the judges of the Supreme Court like the political party to which they belonged, were imbued with the current reaction. In 1852 the advocates of the law of 1848 received their first shock when the Supreme Court decided that the deed of a married woman not joined in by her husband, was void. (1)

From the beginning Judge Woodward appeared to dominate the bench. At this time he was forty-three years of age, and had long been prominent in politics; (2) he had been a member of the Constitutional Convention which reported the constitution of 1838. From 1841, until the constitutional amendment of 1850 went into effect in December, 1851, he was judge of the Common Pleas Court of the Fourth Judicial District, which comprised the counties of Centre, Clinton and Clearfield. He had been an unsuccessful candidate for the United States Senate against Simen Cameron in 1844, and the next year had been nominated by President Polk for the United States Supreme Bench, but failed of confirmation, owing to Senator Cameron's opposition. He was deeply versed in the law and was only too thoroughly saturated with its traditions. He did not write all the opinions on the law of 1848, handed down by the Supreme Court during his term of office, but in the reasoning of almost all the opinions, where the names of other judges appear, there is a distinct resemblance to the reasoning of the opinions credited to Judge Woodward.

In 1853 he decided that the earnings of married women were not property within the meaning of the Act of April 11, 1848, and held that such earnings belonged to the husband. (3) In the opinion there is an underlying note of defiance. "The legislature has done much to change the legal incidents of the marriage relation," he declared, "but it has not extinguished quite all of the material rights of the hus-

(1) *Peck vs. Ward*, 18 Pa., 506.
(2) Burton Alva Konkle: *The Life of Chief Justice Ellis Lewis*, Philadelphia, 1907; A. K. McClure: *Supra.*
(3) *Raybold vs. Raybold*, 20 Pa., 308.

band. He is still entitled to the person and labor of the wife, and the benefits of her industry and economy."

In 1854 another member of the majority of the court, Judge Ellis Lewis, in overruling the former decisions of Judge Rogers, delivered a homily on the incapacity of women for the performance of certain duties, which if read today, would cause a smile, from persons other than the women who are laboring so assiduously for greater rights for their sex. "The Act of 11th April, 1848, * * *," (1) he declared, "was intended for their protection, not for their injury, and must receive such a construction as shall promote that object. * * * In her dependent condition, with duties which preclude and habits which unfit her for outdoor business life, to give her these extensive powers would be an injury instead of a benefit to her, and would be altogether at variance with the benevolent purposes of the legislature."

In a decision rendered by Judge Woodward in 1858, the red flag of danger was waved anew; and he kept waving it as long as he continued on the bench, a period of almost ten years. In this opinion all the evils that could be conjured up by a most fertile mind were set forth in detail. The case arose in Perry County, where the Common Pleas Court had decided (2) that a married woman could maintain an action of debt against her husband on a contract made during coverture. The defendant took an appeal to the Supreme Court and the matter reached Judge Woodward. In the opinion overruling the lower Court he took for his text a quotation from the argument of B. F. Junkin, the counsel who argued in favor of sustaining it. Mr. Junkin had said: "We start with the Act of 1848 in a new era; * * * with rights created by the act itself, * * * which turn the old common law doctrines, decisions, fictions, and absurdities, into fossil remains, dead as mummies, and, what is commendable, without mourners."

In reply Judge Woodward declared emphatically: "We have not been in the habit of considering the Act of 1848

(1) *Mahon vs. Gormley*, 24 Pa., 810.
(2) *Ritter vs. Ritter*, 31 Pa., 396.

as inaugurating a new era." Stating that under "the common law, marriage makes the man and woman one person in law, and of course excludes the possibility of a civil suit between them," he reiterated the accusation previously made against the legislature: "It is doubtless competent for the legislative power to change and modify the qualities of the marriage relation, perhaps to abolish it altogether;" and added, "but * * * in just so far as you sever the material interests of husband and wife, you destroy the sympathies which constitute the oneness of the relation, and degrade the devine institution into mere concubinage."

With the skill of a consummate artist he painted a picture of terror. No Dore' or Vereschagin could have depicted with more harrowing details, the dire consequences which Judge Woodward predicted might ensue in Pennsylvania if the Supreme Court construed the law in the manner asked for by Mr. Junkin. "The maddest advocate of woman's rights, and for the abolition of all divine institutions, could wish for no more decisive blow from the courts than this," he declared. "The flames which litigation would kindle on the domestic hearth would consume in an instant the conjugal bond, and bring on a new era indeed—an era of universal discord, of unchastity, of bastardy, of dissoluteness, of violence, cruelty and murders." Continuing in the same vein, he attempted to minimize the injustice which the act of 1848 was intended to remedy by admitting that "occasional instances of hardship occurred." This he stated being "magnified by that prurient philanthropy that begins its work where the wise and good leave off, and demolishes what they built up, led a too susceptible legislature into declaring not only that the wife's property should be exempt from seizure by the husband's creditors, but that it should continue to be her property 'as fully after her marriage as before,' and should be 'owned, used and enjoyed by such married woman as her own separate property.' "

That the evils which the Supreme Court pretended to discover in the law were imaginary, has been amply demonstrated since the decisions were rendered. The people of Pennsylvania have always been conservative, and public sen-

timent sustained the action of the Supreme Court in these decisions. The preceding legislatures which could have overruled the Supreme Court by new enactments, but failed to do so, only reflected the opinions of the people who elected them. The Civil War, however, convinced the people that many of the views entertained by them were wrong, and they did their best to make reparation for the past errors. But it was nearly a quarter of a century before they had even partially escaped the thraldom in which the Supreme Court had held them on the question of married women's property rights.

They began by electing members to successive legislatures who believed as they did. In 1887 the Legislature enacted what may be termed a code of laws in favor of the property rights of married women. (1) In 1893, a still more comprehensive law in their favor was passed. (2) Today they possess most of the rights that were originally claimed for them under the act of 1848, and also some additional ones. Judgments obtained against the husband do not bind the wife's separate property; (3) she can transfer shares in corporations; (4) she is entitled to her separate earnings; (5) she can assign and satisfy mortgages and judgments; (6) she can become a corporator; (7) she can go into business; and she can enter into contracts and give obligations in her business and for necessaries and for the use, enjoyment and improvement of her separate estate; (8) she may make leases of her separate property; she may sue and be sued, (9) but she may not sue her husband except in a proceeding for divorce, or to protect or recover her separate property in cases where he may have deserted or separated himself from her without sufficient cause, or may have neglected or refused to support her; but neither may he sue

(1) Act of June 3, 1887, P. L. 332.
(2) Act of June 8, 1893, P. L. 344.
(3) Act of April 1, 1863, P. L. 212.
(4) Act of March 18, 1875, P. L. 24; Act of June 3, 1887, P. L. 332; *Souder, Appellant, vs. Columbia National Bank*, 156 Pa., 374.
(5) Act of June 8, 1893, P. L. 344.
(6) Act of May 25, 1878, P. L. 152.
(7) Opinion of Attorney General, 18 Pa. C. C., 492.
(8) Act of June 8, 1893, P. L. 344.
(9) Act of June 3, 1887, P. L. 332.

her except on the same conditions on which she may sue him; (1) she may become a competent witness in a proceeding to protect or recover her separate property. (2) And furthermore, she may make conveyances of real estate to her husband. (3) This law recognized at least by implication, that the married woman is a separate and distinct being from her husband as is the case under the civil law. The dawn of that "new era" spoken of by Mr. Junkin, has broken at last; it has even blazed into day, but high noon has not been reached. In this year of enlightenment, one thousand nine hundred and fourteen, a married woman is still powerless to convey real estate, except as already noted, or to mortgage the same, unless she is joined in the conveyance or mortgage by her husband.

In the gigantic war which is now devastating Europe, the rulers of the belligerent powers—except of Republican France—are invoking the assistance of God as they hurl their armies and navies at one another's throat in a death grapple. If I were as devout as these fighting Christians, or as they would have the world believe they are, I would indicate to the married women who are seeking further rights, to pray for Divine assistance, but at the same time I would advise them to follow farther in the footsteps of the warring nations, and have faith in the cynical observation attributed to Napoleon I. that "God is on the side of the heaviest battalions;" and that to succeed they must gather more women into their ranks and engage in a further propaganda of agitation, and work in season and out for the desired ends. Only then will their efforts be crowned with complete success.

(1) Act of June 8, 1893, P. L. 344.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Act of June 3, 1911, P. L. 631.

Rev. John Taylor, the First Rector of Trinity Episcopal Church of Pittsburgh, and His Commonplace Book.

BY CHARLES W. DAHLINGER.

REGISTRY OF MARRIAGES, BAPTISMS AND FUNERALS.

(Continued from January Number.)

December. 10, Abraham Haiston to Miss Rebecca Camble.
1817 Jan 23, Algernon Sidney Cheetham to Miss Margaret Hancock.
Febr. 7, Matthew George to Miss Margaret Irwin.
March 1, John Robinson to Miss Cathrine Young.
27, James Porter to Miss Nancy Bonar.
May 11, Dennis Haynes to Miss Nancy Hudson.
June 27, Henry Sweppe to Miss Susanna Reed.
July 26, James Brannen to Miss Ellinor Loughrey.
August. 6, Abraham Sours to Miss Belinda Teel.
Aug. 14, Samuel Morrow to Miss Jane Watson.
September 18, Thomas McKee to Miss Margaret Jonston.
October 15, John Hersberger to Miss Sarah Sellers.
29, John Downer to Miss Martha McBeath.
Novem. 3, David McGunnigle to Miss McKee.
5, George Speers to Miss Latitia Green.
11, Robert Meens to Margaret Harper.
1818 Jany. 1, Joseph Boon to Miss Susana Boyle.
28, 1818, James Lummex to Miss Elizabeth Franklin.
March 11, William Jones to Miss Jane Magee.
21, Wm. Irwin M.D. to Miss Jane Lemont.
April 9, William Miller to Miss Susanna Kearns.
26, Benjamin Crandall to Miss Sarah Barns.
30, James Wills to Miss Polly Thompson.
May 14, Jacob Hildebrand to Miss Elizabeth Hancock.
17, Desirh Leander to Miss Phebe Riems.
June 16, Robert Riggs to Miss Mary Newel, both from Scotland.
July 28, Presley Neville to Miss Kerr.
6 August John Brookmyer to Miss Betsy Moler.

30 August, James Phinney to Miss Elizabeth Hanson.
September 24, David S. Beers to Miss Nancy Pierce.
October 12, Conway Armstrong to Miss Betsey Hutson.
November 12, Benair C. Sawyer to Miss Cathrine Brooks.
Do, John Diel to Miss Cathrine Ford.
24, Henry Heath to Miss Nancy Kelly.
December 24, John McNiel to Miss Nancy Dillard.
Januay 1, 1819, Joseph Braden to Elizabeth Boruff.
10, John Wills to Miss Eliza Hood.
29, Mr. Samuel Stackers to Miss Margaret Beltzhoover.
31, Mr. Samuel Smith to Miss Lucina Waite.
14, Wm. Wilson to Miss Cathrina French.
Febr. 4, Benjamin Space to Miss Eliza Gibson.
9, Andrew Pudder to Miss Rebecca Hancock.
March 5, John Guider to Miss Nancy Smith.
9, Steward Philips to Miss Sara Hendrix Dey.
11, Samuel Biddle to Miss Margret Rankin.
17, Moses Ward to Miss Jane Hill.
18, Daniel Byrns to Miss Betsy Ferly.
John Peart to Miss Sara Kennedy.
26, Thayers William to Miss Polly Gorden.
May 2, Wellington Wilford Kerr was baptized.
13, Thos. Kinkade to Miss Eliza Hains.
June 15, John Patterson to Miss Margaret McKee.
17, Thomas Miller to Roxy Scipio.
July 29, Robert Gilbreath to Miss Elizabeth Ferson.
August 12, William Robinson to Miss Margaret Martin.
22, John Wainwright Hobson to Miss Abigail Sheerwood.
October 28, David Stranigan to Miss Jane Ritchy.
Novem. 5, Joshua Hermitage to Miss Margaret Littlewood.
Henry Everson to Miss Ann Davis.
December 16, Charles Roseburgh to Miss Isabella Camble.
Jany. 5, 1820. James Geary to Miss Margaret Purvines.
7, Archibald Garner to Miss Martha Steward.
18, James Cochran to Miss Nancy Vauhan.
Febry. 13, James Byrns to Miss Margaret Walker.

18, Josep Hudson to Miss Cathrine McNulty, March 1st.

20, Herman Love to Miss Eliza Laird.

March 14, George W. Irwin to Miss Orisillia Hanna.

April 13, John Stewart to Miss Sarah Thompson.

July 22, Joseph Robinson to Mrs. Mary Bedford.

Aug. 10, Funstone to Miss Crawford.

Septem. 12, John Gallagher to Miss Mary Ann Magee.

21, William Croxford to Miss Mary Anne White.

October 5, Hugh Irwin to Miss Eliza Melvin.

19, Solomon Rhemes to Miss Hanna Clark.

November 16, John Miller to Miss Letitia Kearns.

Decem. 26, Dr. Simpson to Miss Mary Beelen.

1821

Jany. 9, George Ritchey to Miss Unity Johnson.

16, Three of Captain Johnson's children were baptized.

Feb. 22, John N. Hughey to Miss Martha Hays.

April 3, Sarah Ann and Smith were baptized.

May 10, John Fleck to Miss Cathrine Hutchinson.

15, David McCoy of Racoon recd the holy Sacrament of Baptism.

20, William Hulbert to Miss Fanny Magee.

June 5, John Johnson to Miss Mary McClean.

10, Jonathan Lee to Sara Bowles.

13, Michael McNamee to Miss Sarah Adams.

27, Edward MacLaughlin was baptized.

July 3, James Digman to Nancy Barnhard.

4, David Roberts to Miss Margaret Law.

5, William Carson to Mrs. Nancy Bennit, Pittsburgh.

14, Charlotte Bond was baptized.

19, William Richardson to Miss Elizabeth Bradley.

Septem. 8, Edward Franklin to Miss Mary Amos.

12, Thomas Morris to Miss Elizabeth Burgner.

16, George Selden Esq., Attorney at law, was baptized.

25, Amelia Anne Schwape was baptized.

28, Minehart A. Bousman to Miss Sara Williams.

Novem. 21, James E. Law to Miss Isabella Patterson, both of Miffiin Township.

29, Robert Bailey to Mrs. Elizabeth Love.

Decem 19, John Gilmore to Miss Mary Smith.

20, Francis Robinson to Miss Jane Dickins.

1822

Were married Jany 1st John Smith to Miss Isabella Hall, both of Sinclair Township.

March 2, Capt. Mathew Magee to Miss Winifred Neville

21, John Boyd to Mary Adams, Ross township.

28, Alexander Law to Miss Rebecca Ferrel.

April 12, Henry Richey to Miss Cathrine Coulter.

of Puckety was baptized.

17, James McClure to Miss Elizabeth Linch.

May 11, Charles Frew to Miss Jane Gilkey.

Moses McFarlin to Miss Sara McClellan.

16, John Vance to Miss Cathrine Atcheson.

28, James Armstrong to Miss Eliza Slack.

June 20, Samuel Varner to Miss Mary McDowel.

Isaac Gill to Miss Elizabeth Horn.

August 9, George Drake to Miss Cathrine Stewart.

Septem. 5, Jacob Edgar to Miss Jane Falkner.

24, Alexander Stewart to Miss Drake.

Novem. 7, Wm. Barker to Miss Elizabeth Manfred.

13, James Fullerton to Miss Jane Crawford.

17, Were baptized Nancy Girty, daughter of John Girty, born on the 16th of November.

James Matthews born on the 24th day of June, son of William Matthews.

Mary Whitty daughter of Joseph and Elizabeth Whitty born on the 11th of October.

Mary and Eliza Galbreath daughters of Robert Galbreath, all of Pittsburgh.

December 21, Were married William Coles to Miss Sara Whitehouse.

1823

February 2, Nancy Howels was baptized.

4, Isaac Dennis to Mary Ann Morrison.

5, James Holiday to Miss Mary Hobbs were married.

7, David Beynon and Lucy Dean.

April 1, Edward McLaughlin to Miss Peggy Deemer.

22, Eli Beaty was baptized.

27, John Mca Fee was baptized, of Wilkins Township.

May 15, Hugh Wiley to Miss Susan Kinsey, was married.

James Speer to Miss Rebekka Mulvey, was married.

June 12, William Reece to Miss Jane Trunick.

26, William Walace to Anne Eve Cready, Sinclair.

July 1, Daniel Scott to Miss Lydia Smith, Pittsburgh.

11, Alexander Neely to Miss Sara Anne Frealy, Ross Township.

August 19, George Russel to Miss Eliza M. Davis.

Septem. 7, Joseph Davis to Mrs. Sara Cummins, both of Pittsburgh.

17, James Kearns to Miss Atkin or Eaken, both of Sinclair Township.

28, Doctor Bedford Mowry to Miss Ellen Davis, of Pittsburgh.

October 3, John B. Adler to Miss Julianne Drawly of Pittsburgh.

November 14, James O Neal to Miss Polly Chess.

20, John Pollard to Miss Mary Ann Smallman.

1824 Jany 1

Mr. John Riddle to Miss Margaret Bell, both from Ireland.

14, James Miller to Miss Letitia Chambers, both from Ireland.

Febry. 5, John Campbell to Miss Jean Deary.

12, John Highfield to Mrs. Sarah Cowan.

March 13, Jesse Taylor from England to Miss Susanna Beynon from Menthys Tidville, Glamorgan.

26, Ebenezer Williams to Miss Margaret Lane.

April 1, Charles John Cahilly and Jane Shipton..

To Mrs. Shipton

May 14, Wm. J. Howard to Miss Lydia Updegraff.

27, Balser Reem to Miss Sara Job.

June 29, George Ritchey to Miss Eliza Miller.
July 15, Alexander McKee to Miss Eleanor Jones, Sinclair Township.
17, Andrew Fulton to Miss Jane Magee, Pittsburgh
August. 31, George Connely to Miss Elinor Kennedy.
Septem. 2, Daniel Haughey to Miss Mary Blair.
6, Michael Fox to Miss Rebecka Matson.
9, Susanna Taylor was married.
11, Henry Drake to Mary Lisle, Sinclair Township,
20, Robert L. Keen to Miss Phebe Anne Page.
23, John B. Hunter to Miss Agnes Crookshanks.
October 4, Mr. McMullin to Miss Blair.
7, Priscilla and Nancy were baptized, of Sommerset County.
26, Jesse Moore to Miss Sophia McCallagher.
Novem. 11, Robert Mackey to Miss Rebekka Howard.
14, Jonathan Hobson to Miss Jane Parry, Pittsburgh.
18, Donnaldson Black to Mrs. Anne McGowen, Pittsburgh.
20, Thomas Ward to Miss Mary Whitehouse, Pittsburgh.
Decem 7, Dennis Murphy to Miss Latitia Lambie.
19, Samuel Hay to Miss Eliza Rebecka Howard.
1825
Jany. 6, Alexander Sprague to Miss Parchment.
18, 1825, George C. Hite of Somerset County to Miss Louisa Williams of Allegheny town.
Febry. 4, George Watson attorney at law to Miss Nancy Maclean
March 5, Thomas Devege to Miss Mary Mackerel.
13, Jacob Rigler to Miss Eleanor McCullough.
March 20, Were baptized in Pittsburgh.,
John Girty Matthews, born July 19, 1824.
William Graham Girty, born December 25, 1828
Mary Anne Wetty, born October 29, 1823.
Elizabeth born Beynon, February 4, 1825.
24, James Abercromby to Miss Elizabeth Patterson, both of Pittsburgh.

25, John Marshall to Miss Margaret Wilson, both of Pittsburgh.
30, William McCandless to Miss Margaret Wightman, both of Pittsburgh.
April. 27, Robert Pickering to Mrs. Margaret Frazier.
28, Daniel McCoy to Miss Mary Miller.
May 25, Henry Brigham to Miss Margaret McGranahan
June 6, Thomas Hall to Mrs. Nancy Smith of Pittsburgh.
12, Alexander Pentland to Miss Rachel McCoy of Pitt.
19, John K. Lynch to Miss Mary D. Fench, of Pitts.
July 3, Were baptized, Jacob and Nancy Welsh. Pamela Hall, and Daniel Docherty, all of Allegheny County, Pa.
July 19, James Burns to Miss Cathrine McDonald.
29, David McLean to Miss Hanna Philips.
Septem 26, James Young to Miss Margaret Richey.
October 9, William Ward to Miss Anne McIntosh.
Novem 8, Were baptized, John Stewart the father, and John Stewart the son of 4 years, and Eliza Stewart of 3 years old.
8, John McFadden and Miss Cathrine McKee were married.
9, Wm. Hoffman to Miss Sarah Robinson.
Decem 15, Henry Metzs to Miss Mary Lecompt, both of Pittsburgh.
Dec. 22, William Zimmerman to Miss Elizabeth Jourdan.
26, William Gallagher to Miss Elizabeth Gallaway.
January
1826 Isaiah Hamilton to Miss Susanna Smallman.
29, James Woods to Miss Susanna Watson.
Febry. 28, Joel Chapman to Miss Elizabeth Cooper.
March 9, Peter Parchment to Miss Julianna Emberson.
14, Mr. Craig of Westmoreland County to Miss
James S. Riddle to Miss Mary Fritsman.
April 9, Samuel Coulter | Were baptized.
John Coulter |

11, Were married, John Simson to Mrs. Margaret Robinson.
William Smiley to Jane Haley.
19, Thos. Patterson was baptized an infant 7 months.
May 14, George Kirtz to Miss Phoebea Cooper, Pittsburgh.
Holland Green of New Lisbon to Miss Mary Morgan of Pittsburgh.
18, John McKee and Rebekka Alexander both of Pittsburgh.
31, A young man and woman of colour were married.
June 7, Eliza Jane Caddo was baptized, of Washington Co.
July 3, John Fritzius of Mifflin township to Miss Hannah Freeman of Wilkins township, Allegheny County.
6, Francis Sayce to Miss Anne Maria Robinson of Pitt.
15, Milo Adams, M.D. to Miss Cinthia B. Darragh.
31, Francis Boyle to Martha Seals, both of Pittsburgh.
August 10, William Carney to Miss Margaret Brigg, Versails. Tp
27, West Elliot to Mrs. Mary Ensley.
28, Samuel Teigley to Miss Mary McMeekan.
October 8, 1826, William Mullen to Miss Jane McKelvey.
Abraham Wilton Jackson to Miss Emeline Dunham.
12, David Fulliard to Miss Betsy Richey of Pittsburgh.
18, Burgin Brokaw to Miss Sarah McDowel.
31, Christopher Johnes to Miss Margaret Holmes.
November 3, Joseph Drips to Miss Mary Greer.
9, Rees Townsend to Miss Mary Jackson both of Pittsburgh.
11, Jacob Evans to Miss Mary Barns.
13, William Mulvey to Miss Nancy Gregg.
21, Christopher Lenhart to Miss Anne McNall.

Decem 3, Attest Lawson LeBrun to Miss Phelps, Eliza.
6, Susan Scot was baptized, aged 3 weeks.
25, William Townsend to Miss Eliza Stains of Pittsburgh.

1827

Jany. 11, Edward McGinnis to Miss Elizabeth McClintock.
Febr. 1, Jesse Foy to Miss Eliza Jope.
1827 February 20 1827
Franklin Goldthorp to Miss Rebecka Scot.
25, James Guidon was baptized.
March 12, Joseph Brookshaw to Miss Dorothy Millburn
April 12, Alfred Sutton to Miss Ann Bishop.
24, William Gibson to Miss Darcus Lane, Allegheny town.
Archibald McClean to Miss Susan Drawly, Pittsburgh.
26, William Bratt to Miss Hanna Bruerton, Pittsburgh.
May 26, Biby Leonard to Mrs. Mary Davis.
June 22, Adam Gavin to Miss Ellen Kearny.
July 11, John Sweeny to Miss Nancy Sweeny.
19, Samuel Dodd to Miss Polly Sarver.
Edward Robinson to Angelina Chambers.
Aug. 5, Were baptized Edward Beynon.
Sara Matthews, August 19 were baptized
Maria Burton, George Elliott, 8 years old,
Anne Burton, Gamble John Wallace Gam-
John Burton, ble 6 years old, Samuel Gam-
Sara Burton. ble 14 months old
Aug. 30, Anthony Marvin to Miss Jane Gibson.
September 24 1827
John Waugh to Miss Marian Bosely.
October 1, Joseph Mahorney to Miss Sidney Smith.
6, Job Bruerton to Miss Ann Yerood.
9, Joseph Robins to Miss Elizabeth Lee, Pittsburgh.
16, James Harrison to Miss Ann Leech, of Allegheny Co.

Novem 1, Charles Barns to Miss Rosey Ord.
21, Thomas Welch to Miss Eliza McKinzey.
December 10, Lewis Kendall to Miss Maria Frew.
20, Mr. Baxter's daughter was baptized.

1828

Jany. 1, Robert Shochen to Miss Mary Plunket.
8, Abraham Horn to Miss Susanna Horn.
Febry. 20, William Cowan to Miss Margaret Colhoon.
March 4, John Cochran to Miss Elizabeth Anderson.
John Kearney to Mary Reily.
9, James Louis Victor Carron to Miss Julia May.
23, Mr. Doran to Mrs. Anne Cisco.
April 1, James Gibson to Miss Judy Richard.
2, James Senior to Miss Jane Reed.
17, Alexander Long to Miss Nancy Scott.
20, Robert Chapman to Miss Nancy Connelly.
May 5, David Hay to Miss Elizabeth Wilkins.
10, John McGinnis to Miss Ellen Ramsey.
21, Thomas Gough to Mrs. Susanna Mullen.
June 22, John Scarborough to Miss Rachel Steel.
July 1, James Varner to Miss Anne Alsoop.
14, people of colour.
22, William Richard to Miss Eliza Smith.
August 3, John Mitchell to Miss Betsey Nevan.
14, William Wilson to Miss Rebecca Alberson.
20, John Loyd to Miss Elizabeth Wood.
21, John Hoffer to Miss Mary Myers.
31, William Anderson and Mary Anderson, his mother, were baptized.
Oct. 7, Samuel Gilleland to Miss Eliza Brawl.
22, Thomas Scott to Miss Nancy Robinson.
28, Leah Smith and Isaac Walker were married.
30, Jacob Reynolds to Miss Sarah Anderson.
November 16, Were baptized James, Hugh and Mary Crawford.
20, James Sheridan to Miss Anne McDowel.
30, Baptized 2 children for Dr. John Irwin.
25 December, John Lane to Miss Sara Killgore.

1829

Feby. 2, M. W. Brigham to Miss Margaret Connolly, Pittsburgh.

March 2, William Willis to Miss Mary Stewart, colourd.

7, David Adams to Miss Cathrine Akin.

28, Archibald C. Campbell to Miss Mary Wilcox.

April 6, James Carnahan to Miss Margaret McKerrel.

15, Jacob McMichan to Miss Mary McMichan.

May 2, Nancy Oxley was baptized.

Dec. 24, was baptized in Bayardstown.

1830 April 2, Were baptized two children of Mr. Lobie of Pittsburgh and one do of Mr. Kelly of Bayardstown.

April 3, Henry O Neal to Marg. Whitehill.

9, Usher Kelso and James Lindsey Kelso were baptized, in Bayardstown.

28, a child of Mr. Burgess at old John Irwins place

May 27, Adam Martin to Elizabeth Edgar.

June 20, Lucretia Mary Hutchinson was baptized. Isaac and Lucretia Cary, sponcers.

November 29, Mr. Ireland's two children were baptized. and a boy of 14 years old.

Married

January 20, John Lichtenberger to Miss Nancy Kelso.

1832

January. 6, 1833, Baptized two young men, for Mrs. Gray of East Liberty.

28, Were married John Withnal to Martha G. Wainright of two mile run.

November 14, between 5 and 6 in the morning there seemed to be a shower of stars, but not falling to the earth.

17, Were baptized two children in Allegheny town.

November 23, 1833, Were baptized, Alexander Otterson, son of Alexander and Mary Otterson.

John Otterson Palmer, son of Hugh and Margaret Palmer.

Dec. 8, Were baptized a daughter of Mr. F. Schweppe and two children of Mr. Miller on Scotch Hill, Pittsburgh.

The Names of Children Baptized at Chartiers Creek

1	July—2nd 1826		
2	John Pockey—Age	9 Years	
3	Liza Ann Do	" 6 "	
4	Angalina Do	" 4 "	
5	Thomas — Do	" 1½"	
6	Jane Stile	" 10 "	
7	Rebecca Do	" 7 "	
8	Isabele Do	" 5 "	
9	Saml McCurdy Stile	" 1 "	
10	John Alexander Miligan		Infant
11	George McKee	" 14 "	
12	Sarah McKee	" 11 "	
13	Hannah " Do	" 9 "	
14	Eliza Jane " Do	" 7 "	
15	Robt " Do	" 4 "	
16	Sabina " Do	" 2	
	Mary McMeekin	18 "	
	July 23thd—		
	Sarah McKee—	8 "	
19	Mary Ann Knowlens	24 "	
20	James Do Noe Son	1 "	
21	Margret Do	3 "	

Diary of a Young Oil Speculator.

(Continued from the January Number)

July 16, 1884.

I was again on the floor of the Exchange today. I have not been making any money for a month and have grown decidedly restless. My disgust at the oil business is not as keen as it was some time ago. I constantly recall the fact that I could have made eight thousand dollars had I remained "short" until last month, of the twenty thousand barrels which I sold in April. After considerable deliberation I concluded to try a little "piking," and had Leslie sell five thousand barrels "short" at 64. He covered it at 63½, netting me a profit of eighteen dollars and seventy-five cents. This is a pretty good day's work.

July 18, 1884.

I sold five thousand barrels "short" at 64½ and covered it at 64; the profit is eighteen dollars and seventy-five cents.

I went calling with G— this evening and told him what I had made during the day. I am a regular "scalper" now.

July 22, 1884.

I sold five thousand barrels "short" at 62⅝ yesterday and covered it today at 61⅝; the net profit is forty-six dollars and twenty-five cents. I gave Leslie a check for five hundred dollars for "margins," as my deal was not closed until today.

July 26, 1884.

I am still a "bear," and sold five thousand barrels "short" at 64⅛.

The "shut-down" movement, to the present time has had no effect on prices. The new Wardwell's Ferry district in Warren County is keeping up the production. I reason thus: oil was down at fifty cents last month, and is now nearly fifteen cents higher, hence it will certainly be a good

"short" sale. It ought to settle down pretty close to fifty cents again, as times instead of improving are undoubtedly becoming worse every day.

July 29, 1884.

Prices are climbing up fast; instead of being able to boast of the money I have made, I had to give Leslie a check for five hundred dollars to keep up my "margins." This makes a thousand dollars which I now have up on five thousand barrels of "short" oil.

The reports are that Wardwell is clearly defined, and playing out, and that evidences of drainage are becoming apparent. The production is ten thousand barrels a day—as high as ever it was, but hearing the same song sung so often, makes everybody, even most of the "bears" believe that the "bull" stories are true.

These mornings at breakfast my first duty is to prop the *Commercial Gazette* against the sugar bowl, and while eating, eagerly read what the oil reporter has to say about the preceding day's market, and the prospects for the future, and try to get encouragement to hold on.

August 7, 1884.

Another five hundred dollar check was called for. This takes about all the money I have in bank, and "margins" my oil up to about 94½. The market is now between 90 and 93.

It provokes me to think that I cannot school my features so as to hide my feelings. Every evening mother scans my face to see whether I look pleased or worried. This barometer tells her without questioning whether oil has gone up or down. I try to look pleasant, but everything annoys me. I do not care about speaking or being spoken to. I feel as if the folks at home wanted to speak more when I am depressed than at other times. I am angry with people when I do not have the least cause. It appears to me that selfish human nature always likes to attribute its misfortunes to some one, even though the person blamed is in no way concerned with them. In this instance I feel angry because I have no one to blame for my trouble but myself.

This continual worry gives me a preoccupied air, and makes me abrupt in conversation. I find little pleasure anywhere. In the morning I get up red-eyed from an unrefreshing sleep. No matter where I am, at church, the theatre, or at evening parties, oil is uppermost in my mind. The depressing effect is especially strong on the days when it is raining. I felt so disheartened today that I came near "covering," but have concluded to wait a few days longer.

Sept. 8, 1884.

Yesterday we had another panic in the oil market. The newly discovered Phillips well on Thorn Creek, in Butler County, is the cause. The market made one plunge from 86¼ to 77⅝. Everybody went wild and the Exchange looked much as it did last May and June. I sold five thousan barrels more "short" at 74.

Notwithstanding the excitement, there were two things that amused me—the first was the sight of a broker gravely studying a book of prophecy, in order to be able to determine the course of the oil market; and the other was the action of a friend, an amateur speculator, in laying down rules for my guidance, by following which he declared I could not fail to make money all the time in the oil market.

Sept. 9, 1884.

I sold ten thousand barrels more "short"—five thousand at 76 and five thousand at 76½, making the average on all my oil about 73, including storage charges. Old oil men think the Phillips well has opened a big pool. I only go to the Exchange in the afternoon now; in the morning I stay at home and study.

Oct. 1, 1884.

Another well is nearly due in the Thorn Creek field. It is called the Johnston well, and has been made a "mystery." In the oil trade this means a well boarded up and all information withheld so that the owners can mystify the speculators, by sending out lying reports concerning it. The reports that the Johnston well had been boarded up, ran oil

up from 71 to 73⅞. The agile speculators think the well will be reported dry, no matter how it turns out.

Francis Murphy was a visitor at the Exchange today and made a little temperance speech. Mr. H—, who is a saloonkeeper, took him for Mike Murphy, the oil well "mystery" man.

Oct. 15, 1884.

Yesterday the Christy Brothers struck the biggest well on Thorn Creek, that was ever known in the history of the oil trade. It is estimated that it will produce nearly six thousand barrels the first day. This is an age of wonders; who would ever have thought of a well gushing forth such a cataract of oil. It made an already weak market still weaker; the close was at 62¾; and of course I feel happy with twenty thousand barrels "short" at an average price of 75.

The Uniontown crowd have been badly left this time, as they were buying oil all the way down from 90 cents.

Oct. 19, 1884.

The "shorts" were terribly squeezed or "twisted" as the newspapers put it. On Saturday oil was as low as 59¼ and closed at something over 61. I would have had three thousand dollars clear profit, had I "covered" at 60. In the evening reports were circulated that the Conners well was in the sand, and was showing for a good well. Yesterday gave ample opportunity to run out to Thorn Creek, and look over the field, an opportunity that was largely embraced by the general as well as the trading public. They saw and were convinced and became " 'bears' or nothing." Before the opening of the Exchange, oil was sold on the "street" below 60. When the Exchange opened the "bear" spirit was still rampant, but there were exceptions. The lobby was still selling "short" as freely as it always does at the bottom. The exceptions soon became conspicuous. Instead of opening dull, weak and discouraged at about 59, the trade was electrified by an opening with a bellow at 60¼. The Standard was said to be buying, and prices ran up until 71¼ had been

reached. There was selling to be sure; the "bears" were selling "short" as confidently as ever. They had seen the wells, and were they not producing as represented? The "bulls" were jubilant and as they danced about the "ring" they more than once called triumphantly to the despondent "bears," "You *will* stay away from church, and visit oil wells, will you?" It was not soothing balm to my irritated feelings to hear the mocking expressions; one isn't in the humor for jocosity when money at the rate of a thousand dollars a day is slipping through one's fingers.

The talk now is "drainage," and it is said that the parties "inside" are playing just as they did the Wardwell tract—discounting the future by buying largely before the general public gets over its "bear" wildness, on an accidental production. This kind of talk is very discouraging to us "bears," and makes more than one feel blue even though he can make his "margins" good. People who do not speculate, tell us, that the speculator becomes callous; that nothing worries him; that no matter how much money he is losing, he still sleeps like a log at night. The story is pure fiction. A speculator may dance around and appear to be free from worry, and yet drop in his tracks the next day. I know of just such a case. The man died suddenly a short time ago, and the cause of his death was the extreme mental strain under which he labored. Girls should not marry men who speculate in oil; they will lead them miserable lives. Their conversation will be on nothing but oil. They will not be interested even in their wives.

Miss J— was telling me about a sermon delivered by her pastor yesterday, in which he handled oil speculators without gloves. He called them gamblers and swindlers. I defended them as well as I could, but made a rather sorry effort. While talking with Miss J— I thought of the Rev. F—, a prominent minister and a very conscientious man, and wondered why he never speaks on this subject, when at least five members of his congregation are speculators and members of the Petroleum Exchange. I have often heard him declaiming fiercely against lesser evils.

Oct. 27, 1884.

Yesterday the "boom" collapsed, after oil had reached 82 cents. The reports from the Armstrong well—evidently sent out by the owners—were that the well was dry, which I believe as truly as I sit here, they knew to be false. On being "shot" the well proved to be the largest yet discovered, producing between seven and eight thousand barrels in the first twenty-four hours. It sent prices down to 64¾. There are more lies circulated in the oil market than in any other business. I cannot understand how respectable men can so lower themselves as to make money by such deception. The state's prison is too good for them. Something should be done to deter others from repeating their tactics.

I will not "cover" until my figure is reached, namely, 53 cents. I am terribly tired of oil; it makes me miserable; I cannot do anything without reverting to it. Whatever I am engaged in, whether I am studying Latin or algebra, or astronomy, my thoughts flit into the Exchange. I wonder whether the price is going up or down, whether my "margins" are exhausted and my oil "covered" at a loss, or whether the price is falling so that I can get out without loss. I am always hoping and praying—it sounds like blasphemy for a speculator to talk of praying—that my all may not be lost. At night my sleep is feverish. I toss from one side of the bed to the other, and in the morning rise with red eyes and weary limbs.

I met my friend Mr. N—; he spoke pleasantly and did not mention oil. I suppose he thinks I am an infernal liar; I felt almost ashamed to speak to him, but I really was sincere when I told him I was about to leave the Exchange.

Nov. 27, 1884.

Sitting in the Exchange every afternoon gives me plenty of time for mental speculation as well as for oil speculation. How superstitious the oil speculators are! All persons depending on chance transactions are more or less so. I know I am superstitious myself, at least to some extent. The first thing that strikes me is the number of small gold horse shoes worn as scarf pins, watch charms, or on finger

rings, I suppose to bring their wearers good luck. The most superstitious, however, are the members of the lobby. One of them said to me the other day, that he had noticed that whenever the brokers left the "bull ring," and did business near the telegraph offices, oil went up. Another observed that when it rains, oil goes down. Some of them never do anything on Friday, while one man told me that Friday is his lucky day. This superstition seems also to exist in the oil fields, for I have just read of the death of an old oil operator, who years ago, discovered an oil pool, which he claimed had been shown to him by spirits in a dream. The use of the forked stick, in hunting for oil is common, although nobody will acknowledge the use of it. An oil speculator counts as much on signs and omens, as does a young and inexperienced school girl.

I have been thinking of what a veteran speculator told me of speculation. Said he: "The 'manipulators' are shrewd men. They take the majority of Americans to be what they are—clear headed and farseeing. They know that the average person who speculates is pretty familiar with and makes a study of the statistics present and past. The manipulators estimate that seventy-five per cent of the speculators will go just as the immediate future seems to warrant. For instance the figures for this month, show a large increase in wheat in Chicago, and the average speculator naturally goes 'short.' When the seventy-five per cent are 'short,' and prices have gone down, and it looks as if the bottom was dropping out of the market, the manipuator throws his millions into the breach, and lifts prices away over the heads of the average speculator. When the average speculator goes 'long' the manipuator plays the game on the other side."

Last night while I lay in bed although not asleep or dreaming, I could continually hear McKelvey's barking voice yelling, "Sell ten at a quarter, sell ten at a quarter, sell ten at a quarter;" then Lyman's weak tones kept ringing in my ears: "I'll bet even money she closes lower than she opened, I'll bet even money she closes at four today." Somebody offered to take his bet, when he pulled out a cent, amid the

laughter of the other brokers. Again I saw Joe Craig rushing madly to the "ring" and wildly bidding, "An eighth for twenty-five," then for fifty, and winding up with: "I'll give a quarter for a hundred thousand 'old'," as if he was afraid there was not enough oil left above ground to satisfy him.

Nov. 1884.

Very little is being done at present. Betting on the result of the election occupies nearly as much attention as speculation in oil. We had plenty of visitors today; the girls from the School of Design were in the gallery this morning, perhaps in search of material to paint from. It might be beyond their ability to draw a "bull" or a "bear" when he is excited.

This afternoon a friend of mine brought a lady from New Brighton to see the Exchange. I tried to point out the notabilities to her. The first question she asked was whether the transactions represented real oil. She admitted that she understood it was all gambling. She wanted to see Watson of Penn Bank fame, as she had read so much about him. "Aren't there many young men and boys here?" she asked. "I think it is such a pity, as they will never be fit for anything else but gambling; they are certainly being ruined for life."

The members of this Exchange are worth studying. The successful ones are looked upon as demi-gods by the others. Every word they utter is eagerly listened to and passed from mouth to mouth. As a class I think they are honorable and generous. If F— F— comes rubbing his hands, and tells you oil is going lower than it has gone this year, and a few days later, after you have gone "short," says it is going up, this does not mean that he acted dishonestly; speculators must necessarily change their tactics with the wind. Brokers tell the truth as they see it, to their customers, but around the "bull ring" they are inveterate liars. They will tell all kinds of lies to influence prices, but of course their brother brokers do not believe what they say.

Many brokers have such superb control over their feelings that their faces are as expressionless as that of a mum-

my which has been buried for three thousand years. I have seen Joe Craig lose six or seven thousand dollars on a single "lay-down" and his face never betrayed the slightest emotion.

Feb. 17, 1885.

I "covered" everything today after being short nearly seven months. I had a "stop order" with my broker at 71 cents, or I suppose I would still be "short." My net profit is about two thousand dollars. For the first time in all this period my mind is free from worry. I am not ashamed now to tell people the nature of my business.

Meeting an acquaintance who had speculated in oil, I informed him of my good fortune, when he said, "It would have been better for you had you lost that much instead of making it; no man who is successful at speculation stops then, he only stops when all his money is gone; that is when I stopped." Time will tell whether he is right. I have resolved to withdraw from oil gambling, once and forever, and propose to keep my resolution this time.

Historic Tablet From Allegheny Arsenal.

While Pittsburghers have been boasting that their city is distinguished in the present war as the "Arsenal of the Allies," a peculiar shift of fate decreed that this year should witness the razing of the walls of a building which for more than a century housed the shops and laboratories of the Allegheny arsenal, one of the most important armories of the United States. On the site of this historic structure have been erected warehouses for the Quartermaster's Department of the army. Modern buildings were required and the grim stone relic was tumbled down by charges of dynamite to make way for the extensive improvements undertaken by the War Department.

In the light of twentieth century progress the United States arsenals in Pittsburgh cover a wide territory and are classed among a diversity of Government enterprises. The Allegheny Arsenal is no more; but the boast of Pittsburghers that their industrial community leads in the manufacture of munitions of war—that it is the great arsenal of America and her allies in the battle for liberty and humanity—is a literal fact.

While the old arsenal building has disappeared before the fury of the wrecking contractor's dynamite, its site will be suitably marked and the story of its importance in American histroy will be perpetuated by a tablet taken from its walls where it had reposed from 1814, the year of the erection of the arsenal, until February, 1918. Captain William F. Beck, one of the officers in charge of the improvements on the arsenal property, tendered the tablet to Mr. William H. Stevenson to be held in the custodianship of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. The tablet was placed temporarily in the offices of the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburgh where it has attracted much attention. It is planned eventually to place the relic on a granite base as near as practicable to the site of the Allegheny Arsenal building. This work will be under the direction of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission and it is probable that

the monument will be in Butler street adjacent to the gate of the old arsenal.

The tablet is of cast iron and doubtless is the product of one of the early foundries of Pittsburgh—doughty munition plants in the days of the War of 1812. It is oblong in shape approximately six feet long and three feet deep and weighs about 600 pounds. The design is striking in its simplicity but is well executed. In the center are two crossed cannon below a stack of nine cannonballs. In bold relief is the date—APRIL, 1814. Below are the letters "A. R. W.," being the initials of Captain Abram R. Woolley, first commandant at the Allegheny Arsenal. Seventeen five-pointed stars, representing the number of states in the Union at the time of designing the tablet, encircle the border.

According to the Army Register, Captain Woolley was appointed from New Jersey in the Ordnance Department of the army on December 4th, 1812. He was promoted to the rank of Major of Ordnance February 9th, 1815 and transferred to the Sixth Infantry March 11th, 1823. He was advanced to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel December 16th, 1826, and dismissed May 1, 1829. On February 9th, 1825, he was made brevet Lieutenant Colonel for 10 years' faithful service in one grade.

This Magazine is Appreciated.

The appearance of the initial number of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine was greeted with hearty acclaim by the editors of other historical publications, officers of historical organizations and the newspapers. Comment on the interesting matter that filled the pages of the January issue and praise for the fine typographical arrangement of the Magazine were especially encouraging to the Publication Committee.

The Magazine has found a place on the reading tables of the largest libraries in the country and it will be on file in all the leading historical societies. Not a few copies were sent abroad and some were mailed direct to Pennsylvanians

with the American forces in the war zone in France. Following are brief extracts from some of the letters received:

Wilfred H. Munro, President, Rhode Island Historical Society—"The initial number of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine has come safely to hand. I have read it with a great deal of pleasure and find it one of the most interesting historical magazines I have seen in a long time. We are very glad to place your society on our exchange list."

Clarence S. Brigham, Librarian, American Antiquarian Society—"We have received the first issue of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine. I am much interested to see this publication and hope that we will continue to receive it regularly. We shall put you on our exchange list to receive our Proceedings, to begin with the next issue. We shall begin publishing within a year the bibliography of Pennsylvania newspapers previous to 1820 which will take in many of the newspapers of your section of the state."

George S. T. Fuller, Corresponding Secretary, Medford (Mass.) Historical Society—"We received the initial number of your magazine and would say to you that if the succeeding numbers are as interesting as the first one, we see no reason why your efforts should not prove a success."

Frank D. Andrews, Secretary, Vineland (N. J.) Historical Society—"I have read with interest the copy (The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine) and feel assured that you have entered upon a most useful work in placing in printed form the early records of Western Pennsylvania."

H. H. Ballard, Librarian, Berkshire Athenaeum, Pittsfield, Mass.—"The copy of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine has been received and we are very glad to have it."

Dr. Logan Esarey, Secretary, Indiana Historical Society—"I received a copy of your Magazine recently. I am very glad you have begun this work. I know of no field in the United States needing its local history made available more than Western Pennsylvania. Through that gate most of us came west, and many of us—our ancestors—lingered on the road. The appearance and contents of the Magazine look good."

List of Articles Presented to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

1. Historic Cannon Ball.
Weighing nine and one-half pounds, was found about ten feet below the surface of the ground while excavations were being made prior to the erection of a building on the site known as No. 914 Penn Avenue. As the property mentioned was included in the bounds of "Fort Fayette," erected in 1794, and which was abandoned by the government not long after the close of the war of 1812 and sold to various purchasers, this cannon ball doubtless belonged to the ammunition which had been stored in the old fort. Presented by Mr. Stewart Johnston.
2. Photograph—
From a portrait by Stuart, of Col. James Burd, (commander of British and Colonial troops at the battle of Loyal Hanna, October 12, 1758). Presented by Mr. Burd S. Patterson.
3. The Original Manuscript of the song "Massa's in De Cold Ground," by Stephen C. Foster. Presented by Mr. T. M. Walker.
4. Manuscript of the song, "Way Down Upun De Old Plantation," by Stephen C. Foster. Presented by Mr. T. M. Walker.
5. The Original Manuscript of the song, "Willie My Brave," by Stephen C. Foster. Presented by Mr. T. M. Walker.
6. Photograph from a portrait of Stephen C. Foster. Presented by Mr. T. M. Walker.
7. Stephen C. Foster Homestead. Photo by H. C. Anderson. Presented by Mr. T. M. Walker.
8. "An Ancient Four-Post Mahogany Bed," used in the Stephen C. Foster Homestead. Presented by Mr. T. M. Walker.
9. William Findlay's "Inaugural Address to the Legislature, December, 1817," printed on silk by R. B. Wilkins & G. Sweney, Harrisburg, December 16th, 1817. Presented to William Davidson, Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1818, by Governor William Findlay. Loaned by Mr. Thomas Davidson Newmyer.
10. License granted to Robert Taylor of Greensburgh in the County of Westmoreland, by His Excellency Thomas Mifflin, Esquire, President of the Supreme Executive Council of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, for the sum of Forty Pounds. Sealed with my Seal Dated the Seventh day of October in The Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty Nine. Presented by Mr. William H. Smith.
11. Engraving—"Lincoln and His Family." Presented by Mr. T. M. Walker.
12. Autograph Letter written by Mrs. Andrew Jackson to Benj. Bakewell, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, dated Washington City, March 3, 1825. Presented by Mr. Jacob W. Paul.
13. Deed from Robert Brooke, Esquire, Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, to Lewis Nanderver, (Ascertain tract or parcel of land containing one hundred and fifty acres by survey.) March 21, 1783. Presented by Mr. T. M. Walker.
14. Autograph Letter written by Daniel Webster to Benj. Bakewell, Esq. Pittsburg, Pa. (a letter introducing Thos. H. Perkins, Esq.

of Boston, Mass.) Dated Washington City, May 16, 1836. Presented by Mr. Jacob W. Paul.

15. Letter from the Marquis de Lafayette to Messrs. Bakewell, Page, of Pittsburg, in acknowledgment of the hospitality he received from them at the time of his second visit to America, and thanking them for the present of a pair of cut-glass-vases which he took with him to La Grange Blessneau, on his return to France, where according to Lyford's Western Directory, they decorated the salon of the chateau. Dated May 31st, 1825. Presented by Mr. Jacob W. Paul.
16. Photograph—North Common, Allegheny 1868. Presented by Mr. Charles Davis.
17. Photograph—Old grindstone and springhouse near the ruins of the old St. Clair Cabin, the spring house and grindstone stood there when Washington surveyed the road through Chestnut Ridge. Presented by Mrs. Theodocia B. Wynn.
18. Portrait of Jane Grey Swisshelm, painted by herself. Loaned by Mr. N. N. Moore, Swissvale.
19 Cradle belonging to pioneer settlers who came over the mountains in 1750 settling in Sweetwater (Sewickley). Presented by Misses May and Louise Dippold.
20. A Colored Lithograph—"Washington Crossing the Delaware" (evening previous to the battle of Trenton, Dec. 25, 1776). Presented by Mr. T. M. Walker.

Notes and Queries.

WAS THE NEW ORLEANS, THE FIRST STEAMBOAT ON THE WESTERN RIVERS, A STERN-WHEELER OR A SIDE-WHEELER?—Mr. Robert A. Brown of Wilkinsburg, sends us the following letter:

"I have read with interest George T. Fleming's articles in *The Gazette Times* about the steamboat New Orleans. Mr. Fleming casts a doubt on the now generally accepted belief that the boat had its propelling wheels at the sides. As I recall the pictures of the replica of the New Orleans as published in the Pittsburgh newspapers at the time of the centennial celebration in October, 1911, of the first sailing of the boat from this city for southern waters, it was represented as having side-wheels. It is my recollection that this was in accordance with the conclusion of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, arrived at after an exhaustive investigation. Can you inform me whether Mr. Fleming, or the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania is correct in their respective claims?"

There is no longer any doubt in regard to the mode of propulsion of the New Orleans. The boat had side-wheels. For many years prior to 1911 it was believed, that the New Orleans was a stern-wheel boat. It is a fact, that the specification to Mr. Fulton's first patent, taken out in February 11, 1809, when he and Mr. Livingston were already contemplating their project for the navigation of the Western rivers, read: "Hitherto, I (Mr. Fulton) have placed a propelling wheel on each side of the boats, with wheel guards on frames outside of each of them for their protection; a propelling wheel or wheels may however be placed behind the boat, or in the center between two boats," etc. It is equally true that on February 9, 1811, when the New Orleans was almost ready to be launched, Mr. Fulton took out a supplementary patent, wherein he claimed a patent for his "particular mode of proportioning and placing a propelling wheel or wheels in the stern of a boat."

This no doubt caused confusion in the minds of the historians of the early Western steamboat navigation. The error may also have originated from the account which appeared in James T. Lloyd's *Steamboat Directory* published in 1856, an interesting but in many particulars an unreliable book, which described the New Orleans as a stern-wheel boat, going so far as to print a wood-cut showing the boat with a wheel at the stern. The mistake can likewise have arisen from the fact that stern-wheel steamboats were first successfully operated on the Western rivers at a very early date, with which the New Orleans may have been confounded. These were built under the patent for stern-wheel steamboats obtained by Daniel French then of Pittsburgh, on September 23, 1809, and were the Comet, a small boat of 25 tons burden, built at Pittsburgh in 1813, being the second steamboat on the Ohio River, and the Enterprise, also a small boat, of 75 tons burden, built at Brownsville, Pennsylvania, in the summer of 1814.

All the contemporary evidence indicates that the New Orleans was a side-wheel steamboat. The *Louisiana Gazette and Advertiser* of January 13, 1812, issued three days after the boat arrived at New Orleans stated that "she was detained by the breaking of *one* of her wheels." Then the account of the sinking of the New Orleans pub-

lished in the Pittsburgh *Mercury* of August 24, 1814, contained a reference to the "wheel on the *larboard* side." Both these statements make it apparent that the boat had more than one wheel, and there is no doubt that it had two wheels, which were placed at the sides of the boat, that being the ordinary mode of placing the wheels where there were two. There is no information from which it can be inferred that any steamboat had more than one wheel at the stern prior to 1830, when a small boat was built at Pittsburgh, to run on the Allegheny River, having two wheels at the stern, which was the first boat with two wheels so placed.

The testimony on this question, of David Thomas, an American traveler who visited Pittsburgh in the summer of 1816, is strongly corroborative of the fact that the New Orleans was a side-wheeler. Mr. Thomas wrote a volume descriptive of his travels, which was published at Auburn, New York, in 1819. In this book he declared that steamboat navigation on the Western rivers had proved to be a losing venture, but that the two vessels built by Captain French of Brownsville, were the most successful of the steamboats constructed to that time. For this he gave the significant explanation: "The wheel is placed behind," and added learnedly: "The advantages of this construction over the Fultonian plan must be evident; for the float-board strikes the advancing current as it flows into the wake, while those of the latter strike it as it passes the vessel. The wheel is also sheltered from driftwood and ice."

The statement that "the wheel is placed behind," followed by the comment that "the advantages over the Fultonian plan must be evident," could only mean that Fulton's steamboats, of which there were then three on the Western rivers, had the wheels placed otherwise than at the stern. As there was only one other way of placing the wheels, to-wit, at the sides, this would appear to be conclusive of the fact that the New Orleans was a side-wheeler.

In further affirmation of this claim is the account which appeared in the *Pittsburgh Dispatch* of July 19, 1885. It was a three column article on "River History," the larger part being devoted to an interview with Captain John Birmingham, a steamboatman of thirty-eight years experience, who was afterward Prothonotary of Allegheny County and Warden of the Western Penitentiary, and well known to the older generation of Pittsburgh business men. Captain Birmingham was born in 1802, and when nine years of age saw the New Orleans launched from the boatyard on Suke's Run, a rivulet which emptied into the Monongahela River at a point about where the "Pan Handle" railroad bridge now crosses the river.

Mr. Birmingham recalled distinctly that the boat had side-wheels.

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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Economy—A Unique Community.

BY MRS. AGNES M. HAYS GORMLY.

The following sketch was prepared by Mrs. Gormly and read by her before the Twentieth Century Club of Pittsburgh, and the Women's Club of the Sewickley Valley.

For more than three generations an intimacy had existed between members of her family and the Economites, as the brothers and sisters of the Harmony Society were familiarly called. Coming into almost daily contact with them, and with the most cordial social relations existing between her and the Harmonists, Mrs. Gormly enjoyed exceptional opportunities for observing the quaint customs and manners of the members of the society. Her article is written in a most friendly spirit and with the poetic enthusiasm of girlhood. It is perhaps the most readable account extant of the now defunct society. She died on January 8, 1908.

Economy? Not the Economy dinned into most of us from our youth up, so suggestive of turned gowns, steamed velvets, cleaned gloves and their host of attendant shabbiness, but an Economy of old brocades; of precious dark blue Lafayette china; of dark dull red brick houses with the velvety look that three score and ten years of sunshine and rain alone could give; of a great stone-walled garden full of all old world delights, of gleaming lake and clipped box hedges wherein grew luxuriantly the sweet flowers of our grandmothers, and where lavender and wall-flowers elbowed hollyhocks and dahlias and ivy clung to crumbling walls. Great meadows rich with corn, and fretted with orchards and vineyards, enbosom the village; sometimes one might even see in the shadow of some long-silent factory the profuse beauty of espaliered apricots.

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High on the bluff of the Beautiful River dreamed the village under the shade of its fruit trees, and the days slipped by unmarked, except where in the *Friedhof* fresh ridges of brown earth or newly springing turf chronicled that Time had taken with him some silvery-haired brother or sister, full of years and good works.

Here spring brought even gentler rain and lovelier flowers than elsewhere; the ivy sent out its pale green shoots; the streets were showered with falling petals of all tints, from the blush of the peach to the bridal snow of the cherry; and the air was full of pleasant odors.

When summer came with its early dawns, you might have seen troops of rosy-cheeked boys and girls, each with a tiny three-legged stool, a tin-cup and a blue bag—a delicious blue bag as far as color goes, although it held nothing more dainty than the prosaic *"Stück Brod,"* which was to stay the infant stomach till the noonday meal. Apprentices, these, for this was a celibate community, and the shepherd of this chattering flock, a mild patriarch of at least fourscore, habited in coat and trousers of dark faded blue, a world too wide, his snowy locks surmounted by a top hat of straw, plaited a score or two years ago by the busy fingers of some sister, as she rested from household cares, gravely followed in the rear of the procession.

The currants were to be picked, as had been duly set forth last evening on the black-board which hung on the side of the milk wagon, as it pursued its way through the quiet village streets. Next day perchance the cherries, hanging in scarlet masses from the trees lining every sidewalk, are to be gathered, or possibly the stronghold of the bee-house, on the greensward back of the shoe shop, is to be plundered of its store of sweets.

If it were autumn, then great carts, piled high with gayly tinted apples, or baskets heaped with the purple grapes or russet pears, went creaking by on their way to the huge presses, and the fragrance of crushed fruit penetrated the air of the press-house.

Winter snows whitened all the wide still streets, the blue smoke curling from the chimneys, or mayhap an aged

face peering over the banks of gay flowers which decked the broad-silled, white-curtained windows of almost every house, would be the only sign of life, unless one chanced on a flock of children chattering on in their decorous way to or from school.

Not always were the streets so quiet. Those great empty buildings were once full of life. There was the cotton factory, there the woolen mill, yonder the silk house, where were woven softest silks, gorgeous brocades and sumptuous velvets. In this quaint low building with walls pierced by horizontal slits, the silk worms lived their short, voracious lives. Here is the quaint hip-roofed Music Hall, where the hundreds of members once gathered for a solemn love-feast or a happy "Harvest Home." A little farther on, behind a paling fence almost hidden by rose bushes, rises the long three-doored front of the Great House, built by the founder of the society, for the use of the community heads. Across the street is the church, looking as if taken, clock tower and all, from some Wurtemberg *Kirsche;* within, the old-world flavor was even more pronounced. There are the stiff benches, this side for the men, that for the women, separated by a broad aisle, at one end of which is the platform where the preacher sat. At the other end of the choir gallery, white-panelled, where sat at an organ, Sunday after Sunday, Gertrude, the silvery-haired granddaughter of George Rapp, and the hoary-headed Jacob Henrici, the present head of the community. Along the back were the benches for the aged silk-capped women and blue-coated elders, who sang as they had done for over half a century, slow moving chorals.

It was most pathetic, those thin old voices echoing the songs of their vanished youth. Now and then, from the ranks of the apprentices, one would hear some fresh young voice, recalling what must have been the beauty of the music of fifty years before. The many versed hymn finished, Brother Jacob arose from the organ, opened a little door, descended to the broad, short aisle, and crossed to the platform where he expounded passages from the "Holy Book." To be sure, he quite often interrupted him-

self to chide some wandering-eyed youth or maiden, or some unlucky sleeping child. Upon the latter fell a fearful punishment. The culprit was marched to a backless bench just in front of the pulpit, between the ranks of men and women, and there in anguished consciousness of many accusing eyes, waited until the long preaching and prayers were at an end. Slowly the congregation filed out, the women in holiday gowns of dark blue silk, a curiously pleated ruffle of white at the throat under the black silk shawls with a rose brocaded border. The silken cap which surmounted all was also blue, with a high stiff ribbed crown. Each pair of time-and-labor-worn hands clasped stiffly a hymn book, printed on their own presses in 1827, on which was an accurately folded handkerchief and a sprig of mint, fennel or blossom. With friendly greetings they passed through the door leading to the street; the men in dark blue silk coat and trousers, with brocaded vest and archaic beaver top-hats, left by the door at the side of the church which opened on a narrow red-bricked passage way bordered by hollyhocks and dahlias, or whatever the season's flowers might be. Alas, that all this is in the past tense! Carthage no more *delenda est* than Economy.

In those years of Miss Agnes Repplier's "Happy Half Century," beginning in 1775, as we all know, there was great spiritual darkness, especially in Germany, where each *Koenig* or *Herzog* was arbiter of matters religious as well as material. In Wurtemberg a few were groping for light, called by their fellows fanatics and frowned on by the powers that were. These mostly believed that the Second Advent was near, and that 1800 would mark the beginning of Satan's thousand years of imprisonment. Gradually the number of seekers after truth increased. One colony went to Russian Tartary under the same influence which led to the emigration of Rapp and his followers to America, i. e., freedom to worship God according to primitive Christian ways, believing in community of goods and in the speedy coming of the Lord Jesus, under whose leadership the whole world was ultimately to be saved. Another band holding similar views was headed by one Goesele, who for his opinions was

imprisoned for nine years. Following his release Goesele quickly decided to emigrate to America, and like the Harmonists, as the followers of Rapp were known, founded a celibate community at Zoar, in Ohio. In 1832 Zoar abandoned celibacy and was still farther from agreeing with Harmonite views, although there was always more or less intercourse and friendly visiting.

To return to Rapp and his flock numbering more than one hundred families. In 1803 he with three or four leading spirits visited America in search of a location suitable for a colony. Finally they purchased a tract of land near Zelienople, in Butler county, Pennsylvania, and in the fall of 1804 three ship-loads of colonists came over, most of whom spent the winter in Philadelphia, Baltimore and elsewhere, although a number of men joined Rapp in the work of building a town. After a winter of great hardship they had made such progress that the rest could follow them into the village, to which they gave the name of Harmony. Up to this time, each family had retained its own property and had borne the expense of emigration. On February 15th, 1805, Rapp and his followers deliberately and solemnly organized into an association on the principle of community of goods. All possessions were thrown into a common stock, those who had wealth agreeing as cheerfully as those who had nothing, to share thenceforth all things in common. They adopted a simple and uniform style of dress and built their houses as much alike as possible. Then followed two years of hard labor for men as well as women. Land was cleared, a church, hotel, school-house, mills and barns were erected. It was a time to try their souls. Strangers in the land, ignorant of its laws, language and customs, without established credit, and subject to much surmise and to slanderous accusations, and of course with some internal friction, their faith and patience were subjected to a severe test, but they trusted in God and persevered, and soon prosperity crowned their efforts.

Under the influence of a fresh religious revival in 1807, they abjured matrimony. This was purely a voluntary sacrifice, and was not brought about by any pressure of author-

ity from Rapp, nor from a desire to check further increase of population, but from strong religious feeling. In defense of this they quoted the Bible. The same principle was carried out in the disuse of tobacco. Many a beloved long-stemmed porcelain bowled pipe was consigned to the flames.

In 1814 another emigration was decided on, partly because of the difficulty of transportation, as they were twelve miles from navigation, and also on account of the unfitness of the soil and climate for the successful cultivation of grapes and other fruits to which they desired to give special attention. In June one hundred persons started down the Ohio river in keel boats to make the necessary preparations for colonizing on land in the valley of the Wabash, in Indiana, where they had purchased thirty thousand acres, chiefly unimproved government land, as well as several improved tracts from individuals. They disposed of their property in Pennsylvania at a great sacrifice, about six thousand acres of land with a number of buildings, being sold for one hundred thousand dollars.

New Harmony, Indiana, was soon as flourishing as old Harmony, and they established a fine trade even as far south as New Orleans, and increased rapidly in wealth, becoming quite famous. As a consequence, additions were made to their number, and in 1817 one hundred and thirty members were received. By the advice of Mr. Rapp the book containing the record of contributions made by members to the common stock, was burned, "to promote equality." This was the palmy period of the society which now numbered almost one thousand. Alas for the mutability of earth! The fever and ague of the country carried off many of their number, and they again decided to move, and sold their town at an immense sacrifice, this time to Robert Dale Owen, who was then head of a community in Lanark, Scotland. Having built a steamboat, in 1825 they removed in detachments to their final settlement at Economy, Pennsylvania. Again they experienced hardships and tremendous labor, but they had at last found a beautiful location and fertile soil.

A town of sixty-feet-wide streets, intersecting at right

angles, forming squares of two and three-quarters acres was laid out. In the corners and midway between, houses were built giving ample space for the gardens of the various families. The houses were mostly of brick, two stories high, gable to the street and door opening at the side into a yard. One pretty feature was the way the grape vines were grown on the houses. No branch was allowed to form until the second story was reached, where a trellis about four feet wide ran clear around the house and on that the vine was carefully trained.

Once more prosperity smiled on their flocks and broad fields, each with two or three giant trees left standing to shelter man or beast from midday heat. The factories were driven by steam, and a large reservoir supplied water through pipes to the houses, and to great troughs for the cattle. Soon after the settlement a few silk worms were sent to Mr. Rapp, and although their culture was an experiment, it was engaged in with zeal, as it would give easy employment to children, aged people and women. Mulberry trees were planted in large numbers and soon quantities of raw silk was produced. Swiss, French and English experts were employed, under whom looms made by one of the members—George Bauer—were set up, and ribbons, velvets, brocades and soft silks were woven. Miss Gertrude Rapp drew the patterns for the different designs. They had a pottery, wove baskets which survive to this day, and the blankets and cottons manufactured found ready sale in Pittsburgh and elsewhere. At this time Lafayette made his tour, and Miss Gertrude and one of her companions, Pauline, attended the ball in Pittsburgh, given in his honor. Another distinguished visitor, the Duke of Saxe-Weimer, came to Economy in 1826, and I feel justified in quoting from his writings:

"At the inn, a fine large frame house, we were received by Mr. Rapp, the head of the community. He is a grey-headed and venerable old man; most of the members emigrated twenty-one years ago from Wurtemberg, along with him. The warehouse was shown us, where the articles made here for sale or use are preserved and I admired the excel-

lence of all. The articles for the use of the society are kept by themselves, as the members have no private possessions, and everything is in common, so all their wants must be supplied from the common stock. The clothing and the food they make use of is the best quality. Of the latter, flour, salt meat, and all long-keeping articles are served out monthly, fresh meat, on the contrary, is distributed as soon as killed, according to the size of the family. As every house has a garden, each family raises its own vegetables and some poultry, and each family has its own bake-oven. For such things as are not raised in Economy, a store is provided from which the members, with the knowledge of the directors, may purchase what is necessary; and the people of the vicinity may do the same.

"Mr. Rapp finally conducted us into the factory again, and said the girls had especially requested this visit, that I might hear them sing. When their work is done they collect in one of the factory rooms to the number of sixty or seventy, to sing spiritual and other songs. They have a peculiar hymn-book, containing hymns from the old Wurtemberg collection, and others written by the elder Rapp. A chair was placed for the old patriarch, who sat amidst the girls, and they commenced a hymn in a very delightful manner. It was naturally symphonious, and exceedingly well arranged. The girls sang four pieces, at first sacred but afterwards by Mr. Rapp's desire, of a gay character. With real emotion I witnessed the interesting scene. Their factories and workshops are warmed during the winter by means of pipes connected with the steam engine. All the workmen, and especially the females, had very healthy complexions, and moved me deeply by the warm-hearted friendliness with which they saluted the elder Rapp. I was also gratified to see vessels containing fresh sweet-scented flowers, standing on all the machines. The neatness which universally reigns, is in every respect worthy of praise."

Now the serpent creeps into this earthly paradise. As early as 1829 a letter had come to the trustees announcing that one, known as Count Leon, who claimed to be a divine

messenger, indeed who was often spoken of in terms only applicable to the Messiah, had heard of Rapp and the society. He expressed great reverence for them, and a belief that America was not included in the field on which the prophetic judgments were to fall, and that Rapp's society was honored with being a forerunner of the Church of the "first born." He proposed to bring with him a company of his own followers, with a view to either joining the Harmony Society, or forming of a separate community on kindred principles, as might seem best. He inquired concerning the quality and price of lands and the suitability of locations. The pious tone of this letter impressed Rapp favorably and an encouraging answer was returned. Nothing more was heard of Leon until October, 1831, when a letter was received, saying he had just arrived in New York with about forty persons, and desiring to know whether they could be accommodated at Economy during the winter. An affirmative answer was promptly sent Count Leon, and the party came on immediately, Leon assuming much state, remaining in Pittsburgh until he dispatched two of his suite as heralds. Economy was in a great state of anticipation, as the minds of the people had been prepared by Father Rapp's preaching on the advent of such a wonderful personage. A formal reception was prepared. As soon as the coach in which he rode drew near the town, it was saluted with a burst of music from the band stationed on the balcony of the church tower. The Count was met at the hotel by Mr. Rapp, who probably wore his coat of state, (plum-colored velvet, lined with pale blue silk,) and escorted to the church, where the community had assembled. Leon entered with pomp and circumstance attended by his Minister of Justice, who wore a full military dress, even to a sword suspended at his side. A sword in Economy! He was shown into the pulpit by Mr. Rapp, all eyes fixed upon him, all ears eager to hear his wondrous message. But alas, instead of solemn prophecy, he only said, "This meeting is the most important since the creation, and henceforth all sorrows and troubles of the Lord's people will cease, and further my heart is too full of emotion for utterance."

Mr. Rapp in a few cutting words replied that he doubted as to whether the happy period anticipated by the Count had yet arrived, and then dismissed the assembly.

Five houses were assigned to Leon and his followers, a few boarding at the hotel and paying their expenses. As yet Rapp and his people knew nothing of the real character of the strangers, but some of the discerning ones soon began to form unfavorable opinions. Meetings between the leading men on both sides were held; the more Rapp learned of Leon's views the more he disliked them. He believed in the subjection of the flesh, Leon favored high living and dress and did not frown on matrimony. It was evident that there could be no union between the two societies, and Leon and his party would have been asked to leave but for the inclemency of the season. Alas! permitted to remain and mingle with the members, they soon spread dissatisfaction in the workshops and elsewhere. It was more than whispered that Leon was a man of extraordinary capacity, even capable of making gold out of the rocks about them. He held levees in the evening and many a young pulse beat the faster for the promise of better fare and clothes, less work and above all, matrimony. A paper was drawn up and published in the newspapers, in which Leon was mentioned as the future head of the society, and outstanding bills were to be sent to him. This was signed by two hundred and fifty men, women and children. A counter paper was prepared, signed by five hundred of the faithful, and the village was rent with dissension. It seemed almost as if the community was on the verge of dissolution, but the old and tried members still "trusted in God and went forward." The burning question was how to get rid of the treacherous guests and their followers. The law would be far too slow, and a compromise was agreed upon. The adherents of Leon, once members of the society, were to withdraw, leaving Economy in three months, relinquishing all claims on the property of the society, taking with them only personal clothing, furniture, etc., in consideration of the sum of one hundred and five thousand dollars, to be paid in three installments within the year. Leon and his suite were to

leave in six weeks. The malcontents purchased the village of Phillipsburg (now Monaca), and eight hundred acres of land, ten miles below Economy, on the opposite side of the Ohio River. Here they organized themselves into a society on communistic principles, but allowing matrimony. In a year's time their expenditures far exceeded their income, including the sum received from Economy. Finding themselves in debt they called on the Count to exercise his power of making gold. He is said to have erected a laboratory and made the attempt. A small portion of gold appeared but how it got into the crucible was not explained. Furious against his Countship, they upbraided him, but he allayed their wrath by persuading them to make another demand on the Harmony Society. As they had no hope of legal aid they adopted a summary process. April 2, 1833, a mob of eighty persons entered Economy, took forcible possession of the hotel, and laid their demands before the society in a most insulting document. The demands were promptly rejected, all members of the society remaining quietly in their houses. The mob then attacked the Great House, but found it barricaded, and returned to the hotel where they drank all the liquor they could find. In the meantime the neighbors gathered and reasoned with the Harmonists, and they roused in good worldly fashion and drove the invaders from the town, with the fife and drum playing the "Rogues' March." The seceders now fell on Leon and he and some of his followers were quietly shipped on a keel boat to Alexandria, on the Red River in Louisiana, where he died of cholera in 1833. All this trouble was in the end and was the best thing that could have happened for the society, the discordant element that had caused constant friction, was eliminated and Economy went on its peaceful way.

George Rapp had but two children—Rosina, who died unmarried, and John, who died of consumption in 1812, leaving one child, Gertrude, born the year celibacy was adopted. Frederick, whose real name was Reichert, was an adopted son and a genius. He it was who planned the great garden, with its pond, grotto and statue. He engineered the pur-

chase of the Basse' paintings, and collected the articles in the museum which occupied the lower floor of the Music Hall; also his work included the wine cellars beneath, whose vaulted stone roof is a lasting monument to his cleverness.

Having had enough of hard, even if historical facts, suppose we slip back the tale of years until twenty-five are gone, and then come with me to Economy for a day or two.

We climb the steep ascent from the station, stopping at the top for a look at the old blanket and cloth mill just in front of us. We see the bit of Frederick Rapp shown in the laurel wreath carved on the lintel around the date 1828, and exclaim as we must, over the beauty of the river. Then we trudge on, carrying our own packages, there being no porters there, past the wall of the Great House, and along the church square, greeting any brother or sister whom we may meet shuffling along in capacious shoes, or cautiously closing one of the picket gates that guard each door-yard. That hole beside the post is for the chickens or for pussy. Sometimes there are two holes, one for the cat, the other for the kittens. Just ahead of us is the Economy hotel, with Andy, the hostler, sitting on the bench outside the door. He looks much like a featherless parrot dressed in Economy clothes, and is a trifle short tempered, but we call *"Morgen,"* and step through the door almost into Joseph's arms. And what a greeting, and what questions! "How are the Gormlys, and the Kings, and the widow Hays?" And his white curls shine in the sunlight, and then a fat little figure dashes at us and actually puts his arm around us. He looks exactly like a very fat Cupid grown aged and bald, and is David the waiter, who almost cries with joy to see us. A door opens at one side of the long entry and before us stands Melena, dressed in the workaday costume of the "sisters," blue wolsey, faintly striped with red, short waisted, high shouldered, full skirted, a bewitching attempt at "surplice neck" is decorously filled in with exquisitely plaited linen ruffles and bound in by a gayly bordered blue silk kerchief. A long black apron falls to her comfortably shod, very large feet, while the dearest old face, wrinkled, yet rosy, with soft blue eyes beams on us from a frame of high

crowned blue cap. Her greetings bring Semira, stately enough for an empress, from her housekeeping, and then Rosie, grotesquely plain, (she looks just like a red earthenware crock,) and the helpers all come in and make us welcome. We go up the stairs into a rather stuffy room but hurry back so as to do some sight-seeing before dinner, Joseph gravely warning us not to be late, as "we waits for nobody," and they do not. Let us go first to the laundry, noting as we pass, curious slits about nine inches long in the side of an old building. That was the silk house where the eggs were hatched, the hungry little worms feeding on mulberry leaves, cut as fine as needles, until they become large hungry worms. They wove their heads from side to side as they audibly devoured the leaves almost as fast as the girls would feed them, until they fell into a semi-stupor, weaving themselves into a silken winding sheet, dreaming perchance of the lovely butterflies they were soon to become. Alas, that dream must soon be dispelled by the scalding water into which they were flung, where now began a task, trusted to skilled hands alone. The women took bunches of slender rods, somewhat like small brooms, and catching the end of the boiled cocoon deftly pulled and twisted until the silken thread ran smoothly off, ready for the reel. That desolate empty house across the street is where Count Leon, charlatan, deluder and deluded, lived during his disastrous visit, and the story runs that in all these years since his ignominious departure it has lain idle.

And now we are to the door of the great steam laundry. It seems an anachronism to see these swiftly running leather belts and revolving cylinders managed by our capped and kerchiefed friends, and to hear the panting of the steam engine amid the clatter of a dozen Wurtemberg tongues, for here Sybilla and Dorothea, Christina, Regina, Beata and several others are superintending their white wash, the machines do the rest. Come over here, where the set tubs are in a long row under the windows for the colored wash. Everything is up to date but the clothes, (Economy had water works before Allegheny City,) and do not be frightened if Rica snatches at your tender hands and rubs

them quickly up and down the wash-board, with a contemptuous *"Soh! zu klein!"* Do not cast envious glances at the lovely dark green pitchers and little tins with one high handle, such as a stage milkmaid might carry. They are full of soft soap, lately made in the big copper boiler in the corner.

As we walk along you notice what a dog-less town this is. To be sure the watchman has a mongrel companion on his nightly rounds, who spends his days galloping mildly at the end of a rope. This is strung trolley-fashion on a wire stretched between the grist mill and "the house that Jack built," in other words the huge granary where are to be found the malt, rats and cat of the ballad, while the cow with the crumpled horn feeds with many companions in the adjoining meadow.

Suppose we walk to the grist mill, along the river street. Across the beautiful river rise the green and wooded hills, cleft so picturesquely by ravines, against a spring blue sky; above us the cherry trees are in bloom and the humming of the bees is the only sound at first, until with it mingles a curious pastoral, and we note the ba-a-ing of many baby lambs. A *"Schon! nicht wahr?"* makes us aware that we have a new companion, and the dearest copy of Louis the Sixteenth, even to the curly head powdered like a wig, stands by us, smiling at our enjoyment. It is Johann Wirt, the miller, and he nods and bids us *"Herein!"* and under the wide low stone archway, with 1825 cut into its keystone, we pass into a most picturesque interior. The floor is of clean grey flagstones, worn by the tread of busy feet; great wooden pillars support the low ceiling, and a gentle sound of slow grinding greets our ears, as with pride Johann shows us the revolving millstones and the trickle of golden meal. It is etiquette to take some in your fingers and to say how much better and sweeter it is than the corn meal offered for sale in city stores. With a smile of recollection, indulgent of my usual idiocy, Johann says *"Herauf!"* and we climb a wide wooden stair into another big, low room, bare, save for the wooden hopper piled high with corn, that feeds the stones below, and for piles of empty bags dating some of

them back to 1810 and 1815. With a sigh of joy we sit down on the floor in the wide outer doorway and drink in the view and listen to the lamb voices with an obligato of bird song and a rumble of bass from the grinding beneath us, and we read bits from "Herman and Dorothea," and our shabby Tennyson and we know that we are in Arcady, until the church bell warns us that if we wish to escape Daniel's wrath we must fly to our dinner. We must first take a look at the old cotton mill directly back of the grist mill, with a big 1829 on its gable. Bare and silent these long years, many a web of cloth was woven here by the girls who sang to the Duke of Saxe Weimer.

The table service at the hotel is primitive, although David does lean over your shoulder and beg you to eat a little more. Everything is plentiful and clean, but the meat is all boiled and the soup queer, with pitchers of delicious milk and dishes of fresh-laid eggs, plenty of jellies, (very good, unless Mr. Henrici has had some inspiration in the preserving line,) cucumbers stewed in cream, and snowballs, an apotheosized doughnut. You are expected to eat, not talk, and to leave the table as soon as you have finished, and it is bad manners to leave anything on your plate. We hurry out into the pleasant air again and soon find ourselves beside the long facade of the Great House with its three front doors. The lower one is where we knock. That dinge in the door does look as if once in a while some one "made a night of it," but really it was made by years of tapping of Mr. Henrici's horn-handled umbrella. Now half the door swings open and a rosy shiny face appears. "Yes, Miss Rapp is at home, and will you be seated?" It is a long room where we wait her coming. A row of rush-bottom chair stand stiffly against the outer wall, the beautiful Colonial mantel bears four vases of wax fruit, (the work of Miss Gertrude's and Pauline's hands,) and a fine old gilt clock, beneath which is a joy of a Franklin stove. At the side is a lovely little mahogany work-table, then a door over which hangs a fine copy of the "Ecco Homo," with two pianos at right angles, each covered with dark blue silk of home manufacture. Over them hang Benjamin West's re-

plica of his "Christ Healing the Sick," and a lovely "Nativity," said to be by Raphael Menges. But here is our hostess, and a dear little gentlewoman in the simple dress of the society, bids us welcome, and we talk of the relations in town and the flowers in the garden, when Miss Gertrude excuses herself, and in a few minutes re-enters with a tray of wine glasses through whose facets you see a ruby liquor. Then she opens a long narrow closet door in the chimney corner and piles ginger cakes on a pink Adams plate, and serves us, and we sip the currant wine, sometimes it is quince-cordial, fit for the gods. We discuss the ivory carvings hanging above us and the wonderful old prints on the wall, and Miss Gertrude says, "Perhaps you would like to visit the garden?" and with her broad-brimmed hat tied under her chin, leads the way to the loveliest old-fashioned garden. We walk between clipped box hedges that guard beds where ranks of Mary lilies stand in the midst of sweet scented blossoms, with sentinels of giant scarlet tulips. Then through another grassy path bordered by stiffly pruned standard roses, each a bouquet in itself, and before us is the pride of Economy—the fish-pond; we cross the still waters, where the gold-fish play in shoals, by a plank to the island where in 1827 Frederick Rapp built a stone summer-house, all set around with green. A winding lattice-enclosed stairway leads to the flat roof where on Sunday afternoons and on holidays the band plays. A gurgle of water calls attention to a pipe where a fountain was intended to play, but some of the practical brothers found that the flow would lessen too much the amount necessary for the houses and barns, so the project was given up and the statue of Harmony, with which it had been proposed to surmount the fountain, was removed to the grotto. We pass various sorts of arbors, with many recesses, all vine-clad, ideal spots for lovers' meetings, (that we should think of such things here!) with secret doors, that, when you have found them, let you into a cage-like retreat, with benches, and tables, where the inner man might be refreshed. Beyond is the rough stone wall ivy-mantled and crested with a mass of hen and chicken house-leek. Would not Henriette Bonner go wild over the big

black cat that basks there in the sun, in almost conscious pride of satin fur and panther pose? A bed of sweet scented purple and white violets and lilies of the valley lies under the shelter of the wall, and in the spring the fragrance is wonderful. But here we turn to the grotto, built of stones full of fossils and with a door cunningly contrived of bark without sign of hinges or handle, and here is another point of etiquette. We must wonder, audibly, how we get in, but the door swings open and we stand before the big statue of Harmony. In her finger tips you can see the holes, out of which water was to have played upon her lyre. On the walls are tablets, recording the founding of Harmony, New Harmony and Economy, and the birth and death of George Rapp. It is an artless place, (in every sense,) and yet in a way impressive. As we have walked along, Miss Rapp and her gardener have been cutting flowers right and left, and as we take leave each of us has a bouquet given her. Were any like them ever seen out of Economy? A tall pyramid in form, in design more than a little stiff. With a quiet *"Auf Wiedersehen,"* we go out of the side gate beside the tall wooden pump, where another formality is to be observed. We take hold of the iron handle with the big brass ball on the tip, and swing it up and down until the water gushes from the spout, then from the tin cup we drink, germs and all, to the health of Economy.

Of course you want to see the bakery whence came the ginger cakes we ate at the Great House. The narrow path leading to it is bordered always with flowers, snow-drops in early spring, then sweet-scened violets and daffodils, on in summer successions until tiny button chrysanthemums shine through winter snows. Is not that the cleanest room you ever saw? See the long rows of straw baskets where each loaf sat brooding until it made up its mind to round itself into a lovely hemisphere. There is the long-handled paddle on which the loaves, one by one, made their journey to the oven's darksome cavern. Here is a pile of crusty rolls, there a pyramid of ginger-cakes, and now, blushing under our fire of questions and exclamations, the presiding genius, Bubley, emerges from the shadows, rosy, dusty

with flour, but shining clean. The only word in his vocabulary seems to be *"Ja! ja!"* but his smile, as he puts a hot ginger-cake into our hands, makes amends for lack of words.

Now the shadows are quite long and at a distance is a sound, faint but momently stronger, and shortly the lowing herd, fifty or sixty strong, wind slowly down the street to the barns, and we turn our faces hotelward, to a supper of more eggs, honey, fried potatoes, and the best of butter, and bread not long from the bake-shop. A little chat with Melena and Semira on the back porch, and then Daniel comes and glares at us until we are forced to feel sleepy, and before the clock strikes nine, no one sits up later than that, and the watchman and his mongrel have already made one round. The open windows have driven away all stuffiness, and in the exquisite freshness and fragrance of the air that blows from the river we fall asleep, to be awakened by Daniel thumping along the hall to read the thermometer, although our watches only mark five. It is no use trying to sleep, although it is Sunday, hundreds of roosters are crowing, swallows are darting and twittering past our windows, and at an early hour we breakfast, take a walk to the Blaine house and then go to church with Melena and Semira. In the vestibule we find scrupulously clean benches on which an aged sister may rest from the fatigue of half a square, nod gravely and pass to the big auditorium beyond, its ceiling painted in Heaven's own blue. Dare we look around, we would see a balcony over the door we entered. That is where in bygone days the band played on Easter or *Pfingsten.* A gentle rustle and Miss Gertrude slips in, opens the door in the white paneling of the organ platform, and sits before one of the organs, Mr. Henrici and Mr. Lentz—splendid Jonathan, who looks as if he had been a soldier—stride in. Mr. Henrici slams his door and takes a seat at the other organ, and in a moment you are carried to the earthly Fatherland on the wings of an old choral, whose many verses, as you follow them in the time-yellowed hymn-book, makes you think of the Fatherland above. Rather defiantly Mr. Henrici reads from the Holy Bible, and although you may listen to part of his practical sermon, interspersed with

remarks on the conduct of some girl who dared to fan herself with her handkerchief, or some equally obnoxious action, you watch the trees swaying beyond the curtained windows and hear the murmuring of innumerable bees without, and think how easy it would be to be good in this place of peace. Going out of church very demurely, you may nod in the vestibule, but once on the pavement under the big trees, you may ask for Maria's bad leg, or Daniel's rheumatism or Regina's garden, or even of so unchurchly a subject as Jechli, the watchman's black and white cat.

Death was robbed of much of its sting in Economy, and as one looked at the peaceful face in its setting of fold on fold of fair white linen, (the white robes made ready for the "Second Coming" were used as shrouds) you could think, "The best of life is yet to be." The curious hexagonal casket of plain dark boards was carried to an even more curious, narrow hearse and drawn by one horse down the grass-grown street to the *Friedhof* under the apple trees, followed by the friends on foot, each carrying a few sprigs of rosemary or other flower. That is one reason why Economy windows were always full of flowers in winter. Standing by the open grave a hymn was sung, a few words said, and in a little while another mound, unmarked except by a shrub planted by loving hands, was added to those who were, the grave being known by a number in a book kept for many years. I have before spoken of conventions being even here, and nowhere could this be better seen than in these last rites. Unless you were bidden to the house of mourning you did not venture to appear there, but if a letter signed by the trustees announced in formal terms that Sister Maria Dihm had been called home, and that your presence was desired at the services, you hastened to put on your simplest dress, (not black,) and flowers in hand joined the procession which walked to the *Gottesacker,* and as you cast into the open grave your bit of bloom, there was in your worlding's heart a great longing for the peace which the Harmonists found in industrious, frugal, God-fearing, mankind-loving Economy.

Fragments of University of Pittsburgh Alumni History.

BY GEORGE M. P. BAIRD.*

One of those tiresome persons, who is never satisfied until he has cramped a thought to meet the rigid form of a classic trope, has compared the University of Pittsburgh to that pyrogenous creature of fabulous ornothology, the Phoenix. The figure is not inapt when one remembers that two temples of Alma Mater were destroyed by fire, one in the great conflagration of 1845 and one in 1849. Only a university with the constitution of a phoenix or a salamander could hope to survive these ordeals, and even such a one could not but lose something in the fining process. Being a phoenix, has its disadvantages, and in our case these are apparent in the lack of reliable data from which to reconstruct a picture of the early life and history of the institution. All our records were destroyed by the flames. The only document extant is a tattered catalogue which was preserved in the corner stone of the third University building laid September 2, 1854, and brought to light on November 6, 1913. This interesting fragment bears the title, "The System of Education and Code of Discipline and the Professorships Adopted by the Trustees of the Western University of Pennsylvania, Together with the Addresses of the President of the Board to the Public and the Principal to the Students." It was published in 1822.

Little of the history of the Pittsburgh Academy, founded in 1787, has been preserved save a fragmentary list of its alumni. These men were the sons of pioneer families whose names are closely interwoven with the record of Pittsburgh. Here are a few of them which are doubtless familiar to you: Brackenridge, Brunot, Baird, Collins, Church, Craig, Denny, Darragh, Evans, Gazzam, Holdship, Irwin, Kerr, McCandless, McClintock, Mountain, Neville, O'Hara, Robinson, Rid-

*Read before the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society, Tuesday, March 31, 1914.

dle, Shiras, Stephenson, Stockton, Tannehill, Watson, Walker, Wilkins, Wallace.

Many of these men attained eminence in the business and professional world and their names were common on the rosters of the patriotic, philanthropic, and educational organizations of Pittsburgh in their day. Morgan Neville was one of the first writers of fiction in America and some of his stories such as "The Last of the Boatman" and "Chevalier Dubac" gained for him well deserved national honor. William Tannehill was also noted as an author and was characterized by H. M. Brackenridge, a former classmate, as "one of the best writers in our country."

In these days when the study of drama is a recognized and increasingly important part of our college work, it is interesting to note that the first regular dramatic company in this city was made up of students from the Academy: Morgan Neville, William Wilkins, John McClintock, James R. Butler, Benjamin Evans, Sidney Mountain, and Duncan Walker were the leading spirits.

The organization was known as the Thespian Society and held forth in the Drury Theatre, situated near the Academy at Third avenue and Smithfield street. The society staged the first play in this the first Pittsburgh play house, their offering being "Who Wants a Guinea." This was followed by a series of the quaint British melodramas which were the popular form of stage entertainment during that era. Receipts from the performances were given to charity. The idea of play acting, however, sorted ill with the straight laced views of the Academy's puritan masters and exacting patrons, and this together with the neglect of lessons by students bent upon wooing the histrionic muse, resulted in the closing of the theatre and the disbanding of the company by order of the faculty, after a meteoric career of six months.

The Pittsburgh Academy became the Western University of Pennsylvania on the signature of the second charter by Governor William Findlay, February 18, 1819, and its first class consisting of Thomas C. Guthrie, Alexander Logan and Samuel Ferguson Smith, was graduated in 1823.

From this time until the fire of 1849 the University continued to send forth young men of training and ability, all of whom proved worthy citizens and many of whom attained to positions of honor and influence in the eyes of the world. Of the graduates in this period, one became a United States Senator, four became members of Congress, three became Chief Justices of States, two became Governors of States, one represented the United States at a foreign court, ten became Judges of the United States or State courts, eighteen served as Trustees of Colleges, five were College Presidents, thirteen held professorial chairs, three were Moderators of General Assemblies in their respective churches, five became editors and two attained national reputations as authors.

Time will permit the personal mention of but a few of these men: Hon. Daniel Agnew, class of 1825, was for fourteen years presiding judge of 17th Judicial District and Justice of Supreme Court of Pennsylvania for fifteen years; Hon. Walter H. Lowrie, class of 1826, was Judge of the Allegheny County District Court and Chief Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court; Hon. Cornelius Darragh, class of 1826, was Attorney General of Pennsylvania, State Senator, member of Congress, and a noted Abolitionist. He, together with his classmate, Hon Wilson McCandless, secured from Governor Francis R. Shunk the $50,000 fund for the relief of the city after the fire of April 10, 1845. Mr. McCandless was judge of the United States District Court for the Western District of Pennsylvania and failed by one vote to secure the Democratic nomination for the Presidency in the strongly Democratic year which placed his rival, Franklin Pierce, in the White House. Hon. Thomas Mellon, class of 1837, was an attorney, business man and pioneer banker. Samuel W. Black, class of 1834, was the Associate Justice and later the Governor of Nebraska Territory. He served in the Mexican war, espoused the anti-slavery and the Union cause and died at the head of his regiment, the 62nd Pennsylvania Volunteers, at the battle of Gaines's Mill, June 27, 1862. William D. Moore, class of 1841, was a popular minister and eloquent

publicist, who served through the war as Chaplain of the 6th Pennsylvania Artillery. As an amateur scientist he did much to awaken local interest in the study of chemistry, anatomy and biology. James D. Layng, C. E. LL.D., 1900, class of 1849, our first graduate in engineering, was a builder and manager of railroads. He began as a rodman on the old Ohio and Pennsylvania survey and mounted through the service, to the vice-presidency of the Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis Railroad. The death on March 10, 1914, of Col. Algernon Sidney Mountain Morgan, class of 1849, who made the initial survey for the Ohio & Pennsylvania, now the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad, and who was the father of the coke industry in Pittsburgh, leaves but two survivors of the two hundred and two who received their degrees prior to 1850. They are Andrew Watson Pentland, class of 1849, long in the service of the national government at Washington, and the venerable Rev. Joseph Horner, class of 1849, A. M., D. D., who has been prominent in the councils of the Methodist Episcopal Church for many years and who is now our oldest living alumnus.

The period from 1849 to 1855 was one of disaster and interregnum, during which no classes were graduated. Among the students of those days who were prevented from completing their course were Rev. Mathew Brown Riddle, D. D., the only survivor of the British and American Committee for the Revision and Translation of the New Testament; General A. C. McClurg, at one time the leading publisher in Chicago, and Washington Roebling, constructor of the Brooklyn Bridge.

An interesting chapter in the University's history, yet to be written, will record the part which its alumni, students and faculty had in the soul-trying years of romage and national convulsion from 1860 to 1865. Almost every University man of those days saw service in the army or shared in the equally patriotic and necessary labor of the Subsistence Committee and the Christian Commission. We can give here but a partial list of the more prominent officers. Major

General Frank Herron distinguished himself at Pea Ridge and in other trans-Mississippi battles; D. Keller Leck served on the staff of General Grant with the rank of Major and was later promoted; James A. Lowrie became a major; Samuel T. Lowrie and Mathew Brown Riddle were chaplains; Alexander C. McClurg was breveted Brigadier General for gallantry in action; Algernon S. M. Morgan, Washington Roebling, and James H. Childs were colonels of volunteers and Thomas Williams of a regular service regiment; and Leopold Sahl, Jr., one of the first officers to die for the Union, was a lieutenant of the cavalry. Joseph Albree was perhaps the most useful and efficient member of the Pittsburgh Subsistence Committee and of the Christian Commission.

Concerning the alumni of later years I shall say little. Most of them are still living and are doing splendid work in the world. To mention Guthrie, Carnahan, Clapp, Kornhauser, Patterson, Thaw, Coffin, Scovel, Woods, Logan, Johnson, Taylor, McKnight, and Trees, is to prove the statement. But it would not be proper to close a record of Pitt Alumni, however brief, without paying a tribute to the memory of two members of the class of 1883. One of them has a secure place in the hearts of patriotic Americans. He died at his post of duty, true to that tradition of loyalty which we call "the Pitt Spirit," on that fateful night in February 1898 when the battleship Maine was destroyed in the Harbor of Havana. His name was Lieutenant Friend William Jenkins. The other man was a soldier in a different cause. His service and his victories were upon the dim battlefields of imagination and creative art. The composer of "The Rosary," "Narcissus," and the "Day in Venice" was a son of Pitt and wherever music is heard, wherever human hearts beat faster to the magic of golden song, the name of Ethelbert Nevin is honored and loved.

The sons of Pitt have had a large and honorable part in the making of this city but much of their labor can have no other chronicle than their work itself. Truly may we write for them the legend which marks the resting place of Sir Christopher Wren, the master architect of Saint Paul's Cathedral, *"Si Monumentum requiris, circumspice."*

To Emily Morgan Neville.

BY TARLETON BATES*

Ere Love had tuned my soul to verse,
  Like yours, my brother Fed,
My pen dared only prose rehearse,
  In humble lines I sped.
I now have mounted my Pegasus,
  Void of all comely gait,
Like those dumb animals called Apes,
  Each step I spur, kick, beat.
You have enclosed a little ditty,
  None e'er was more sincere,
My brain I've pothered to be witty,
  Not so—you'll read and swear.
On the fair one that it is written,
  A volume might have been,
Resplendant as the Goddess Cyprean,
  Grace is where she is seen.
Go to the Heathen's Pantheon,
  Rummage each Goddess' leaf,
And every grace you view thereon
  On my fair Houri heap.
No single beauty that you find,
  Must you presume to omit,
Nor leave one virtue of the mind,
  Your Goddess will fit;
Else all the attractions you amass,
  Like glittering beads can not
Vie with the charms of the sweet lass
  In whom I've all forgot.
In the first letters of my Rhimes,
  My charmer's name you'll find,
Look down, then up, upon these lines,
  Each second letter mind.

*Tarleton Bates was a native of Virginia, but had lived in Pitts-

burgh since he was eighteen years of age. He held various public offices, becoming Prothonotary of Allegheny County in 1800; and he was afterward the editor of the *Tree of Liberty*, the organ of the Republican party in Pittsburgh. Emily Morgan Neville was the daughter of Colonel Presley Neville, a soldier of the Revolution, and a granddaughter of the famous General Daniel Morgan. The acrostic conveys some idea of Tarleton Bates' sentiments toward Miss Neville. He was killed in Pittsburgh on January 8, 1806, in a duel, originating in a political quarrel. His death at the early age of thirty years, cast a gloom over the entire community. On November 5, 1807, Miss Neville was married to Mr. Simms, an officer in the United States Army.

Father Theobald Mathew in the United States.

At this time, when the Prohibition sentiment is rapidly gaining ground, it is of interest to recall the days in the middle of the last century, when the agitation for total abstinence was crystalizing. Originally the movement was for temperance in the use of alcoholic liquors. It did not aim to induce men to entirely discontinue their use, its purpose being only to stop the prevalent drunkenness. Total abstinence was the child of a later day. When it came it brought into life, The Washingtonian Temperance Society, The Sons of Temperance, The Temple of Honor and Temperance, The Independent Order of Good Templars, and other less known organizations. But no single person did as much in the cause of total abstinence as the Irish Roman Catholic priest, Father Theobald Mathew. He became known as "The Apostle of Temperance." After being responsible for a large reduction in the sale of liquors in Ireland and England, Father Mathew, in 1849, came to the United States, and met with even greater success than in Europe. The following graphic description of the priest and his method was written by J. Richard Beste (*) an English traveler who was in Cincinnati in June, 1851, during Father Mathew's sojourn there.

The celebrated and Rev. Father Mathew, the Irish Apostle of Temperance, was in Cincinnati when I arrived there; and the walls were placarded with handbills announcing that he would preach and deliver the Pledge at the Cathedral on the following Sunday. He was a guest at the archbishop's residence; and I had been introduced to him on my first visit. One day I called on the Rev. Mr. Purcell and, not finding him at home, was shown into a parlour, to await his return; there I found Father Mathew sitting near the window, and his secretary at a desk on the other side of the room. He was a middle-sized man, apparently about fifty-five years of age, with black hair sprinkled with grey, and a ruddy countenance. His manner was remarkably cold; courteous, but without polish. His enunciation was very measured and slow. He was still suffering from the remains of a paralytic seizure that had affected him in one of the Southern States. This might have hindered, in some degree, his enunciation; but could not have produced that remarkable coldness of manner, so devoid of all the enthusiasm which one had expected to find in him. Yet it was thor-

*J. Richard Beste: The Wabash, or Adventures of an English Gentleman's Family in the Interior of America, London, 1855, Vol. 1, pp. 211-219.

oughly earnest. While we sat there, several persons came in to take the pledge: he spoke to them all kindly, gravely, but with chilling earnestness, if the expression can be allowed.

"Intoxicating drink is at the bottom of almost every sin and evil."

"Youth is the season of good resolutions." These and similar phrases, he repeated to all, intermingled with a few words of inquiry. Most of those who came in, were Americans; most of them, Protestants. One party of three or four American Protestant young men, who seemed to be of a superior class, called in amongst others. All took the pledge, and the secretary inscribed the names of all in his book. Some begged to have medals; and, to these, the secretary handed them at cost price. Father Mathew was said to have spent his all in medals and papers which he distributed gratis as long as he had the means of procuring them; he was now obliged to make his pledged ones pay for them; but they were not offered to any who did not ask for them.

I and my wife had to sit there long, waiting for Mr. Purcell; and we kept up a desultory conversation broken by these applicants to the reverend gentleman. He said that he had enrolled nearly three millions of teatotallers since he had been in the United States, and hoped to complete that number before he returned to Europe. His secretary talked more than he did; and seemed rather to make light of his patron's earnestness.

"Father Mathew," I exclaimed at length, "you and we shall all lose our characters!"

"How so, sir?" he solemnly inquired.

"Every one will know that we have been sitting with you for an hour; and they will say that your reverence needed all that time before we could persuade my wife to take the temperance pledge."

Not a muscle of his face moved as she laughingly added, "How should I get back to Europe, if I did? Brandy and water was the only thing that checked sea sickness on my voyage out."

"There is one pledge, Father Mathew," I said in the hope of rousing him; "there is one pledge that I wish you could get American women to take."

"What is that, sir?" he asked with some slight look of supercilious interest.

"I wish you could make them pledge themselves not to spend more in dress than their fathers or husbands could afford."

"A matter of quite minor importance!" he exclaimed scornfully.

"Do you think so?" I said. "You cannot have traveled through the United States without noticing, as I have, the extravagant, expensive dresses of all the females:—I do not speak of the free negresses, in their white muslin dresses, white satin shoes, and green silk parasols to preserve their complexions;—let them dress on Sundays as they will, for the present: but you must be aware that every American woman, whatever be her position in life, spends two or three times as much on her dress as one in the same station would spend in England. Do not you see the long train of evil which must follow from this rage for the vanities of dress?"

"Not to be compared to the evils of drink," he insisted.

Mr. Purcell came in, and I asked him what seats we could have in the cathedral where we might see and hear Father Mathew.

"Seats!" he exclaimed; "the church only holds five thousand sittings. There is not a chance for your finding even standing room. But come through this house; and my housekeeper will lead you to a private gallery."

We did so on the following morning, and were excellently well placed. The mighty organ pealed; the congregation seemed most devotional; the usual holy service was performed with decorum and solemnity. When it was over, the whole body of the clergy left the building; nor did they return. Not the smallest sacristan or chorister boy was there in surplice, to intimate that what was to follow was part of the service of the church, or that the clergy sanctioned it. The lights were extinguished and the altar was

left bare. Father Mathew came forward before it, and began his discourse. His utterance was impeded, as I had observed before; he spoke of the illness he had endured and from which he still suffered, and which, he feared, would prevent him addressing them. He told what he had done in other countries; what he had done in America. I cannot say that his manner warmed, but it became more deeply earnest—almost painfully so. He compared his labours to those of St. Paul; and spoke of himself as an apostle sent, expressly, to preach temperance, on the value of which and on the evils of the contrary vice, he, of course, enlarged. He regretted that his ill-health would not permit him to speak longer; but he had caught it while laboring in the cause, and, therefore, would he glory in his infirmity.

All this was very painful. It was painful to see the labouring of that heaving chest—almost the throbbing of that apparently-overcharged brain; and to hear the words so slowly enunciated, yet with that fearful earnestness. I expected to see him every moment smitten where he stood, and fall in another fit. But he concluded without accident, inviting those who wished to take the pledge to come forward to the rails at the foot of the altar. There was then a rush!—a crowd-rush of whom three-fourths were females. Women, hardworking women, half of whom had babies in their arms, knelt down and repeated the oath for themselves and their babies; boys and girls of all ages pushed forward and took the pledge. Many, very many men, also took it. I know not the number, but very many hundreds must have bound themselves that day. I did not like it; it was a most solemn promise uttered by Father Mathew and repeated by each one; then he signed the cross over each, exclaiming: "Carry this sign of the cross unstained by any breach of the pledge, until we meet again at the great judgment seat of God."

There has always been a difference of opinion amongst the Catholic clergy of all countries in which the pledge has been administered, as to the light in which it ought to be considered. Though asserted not to be an oath, and that it might be broken without sin, it was delivered and im-

pressed upon the people in a manner suited only to the most solemn oath. And though declared to be only a promise, yet was the breach of it declared to be a "reserved case" in Ireland. It was not an oath, but the people, in fact, took it as if it were one; and children and babies, men and women, even in a state of maudlin intoxication and unknowing what they did, were permitted to pledge themselves in a manner which those even who administered the ceremonial could hardly define or understand.

"Now, Paddy, my good friend," said an American Catholic bishop to an emigrant who was about to take the pledge, "will you understand what it is you are going to do? You are going to make a solemn promise to God, and you ought not to break your promise; but it is a promise, it is not an oath; understand that it is not an oath."

"Oh, no, your reverence," replied Paddy; "sure I understand that it is ten million times more binding nor any oath."

Letter From William Henry Harrison

To Harmar Denny of Pittsburgh, Accepting the Nomination to the Office of President of the United States, by the Convention of the Anti-Masonic Party, Held at Philadelphia, in the Fall of 1838.

After his military successes in the West, William Henry Harrison became governor of the newly created Indiana Territory; he had removed to Ohio and was a member of Congress from that State, State Senator, United States Senator, and Minister to Colombia. Then he had retired to a farm at North Bend, on the Ohio River a few miles below Cincinnati, living in a log cabin, and for twelve years served in the humble capacity of clerk of the county court. But his early achievements had not been forgotten. The glamour of his military life caused him to be sought out in 1836, as the strongest man available, to be pitted against the candidate for the Presidency, of the intrenched Democracy. The elements supporting him, however, were certain loose organizations known as the Anti-Masonic party and the Whig party. The Anti-Masonic party had a pyrotechnic rise two or three years after the abduction and alleged murder of William Morgan in 1826, by Freemasons, in Western New York. The Whig party was organized in 1834 by men who sprang from the old Federal party, and by persons generally who were in opposition to the Democratic party. The two organizations met at Harrisburg on December 14, 1835, in a convention which was more Whig than Anti-Masonic, and nominated Harrison for President; and because Harrison's views did not entirely accord with their own, radical Anti-Masons, like Thaddeus Stevens and Harmar Denny of Pittsburgh, withdrew from the convention. The coalition did not prove effective and Harrison was defeated, and Van Buren elected. However in this election Harrison carried Allegheny County, receiving 3623 votes against 3074 for Van Buren.

A financial crisis followed Van Buren's election. The mutiny of 1836 became a revolution. The Anti-Masonic party was never more than a hysterical eruption, born of an unexplained outrage, and taken up by designing politicians like Thurlow Weed of New York, in order to elevate themselves to office on the wave of passion which the event created against Freemasons. The passion was dying out and the Anti-Masons were swallowed up in the more substantial Whig party. In the fall of 1838, what was left of the Anti-Masonic party held a convention in Philadelphia and nominated Harrison for the Presidency.

Harmar Denny had been the member of Congress from the Pittsburgh district from 1829 to 1837, being elected as an Anti-Mason and soon becoming a leader in that party. It was largely through his efforts that Harrison was nominated in 1838, he being now a warm supporter of the hero of Tippecanoe and the Thames. On December 4, 1839, the Whig national convention met in Harrisburg and nominated Harrison for President. A noisy and exciting campaign followed. The Democrats scoffed at Harrison's candidacy. "Give him a log-cabin and a barrel of hard cider, and he will be content to stay in Ohio, and not aspire to the Presidency," they said. The taunt was immediately caught up by the Whigs: "Log cabins," and "hard cider," became the watchwords of the canvas. Harrison was a poor man,

and the candidacy of a poor man is always more popular, than that of a man who is more prosperous. This was particularly true in that time of poverty and woe. Huge processions paraded the streets of the cities and towns, containing wagons on which were log cabins and men drinking cider, and Indians in war paint and feathers. In Pittsburgh on February 11, 1840, an immense meeting was held in the old Court House in the Diamond, in advocacy of Harrison's election, at which Harmar Denny presided. Harrison was triumphantly elected, receiving the largest majority in the electoral college ever given to a candidate for President. His reception in Pittsburgh in January, 1841, while on his way to Washington to be inaugurated, was the greatest ovation ever given to any man, not even being exceeded by the demonstration accorded President-elect Abraham Lincoln in 1861.

The following letter of William Henry Harrison was sent by him to Harmar Denny, in response to his notification of Harrison's nomination by the Anti-Masonic convention of 1838. Harrison believed that the President should serve only one term. Some of the other views expressed by the candidate are also in marked contrast with opinions held today on the consolidation of power in the hands of the President.

North Bend 2d Decr 1838

Dear Sir

As it is probable that you have by this time returned to Pittsburg I do myself the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter from Philadelphia covering the proceedings of the National Democratic Anti-Masonic Convention which lately convened in that city. With feelings of the deepest gratitude I read the resolution unanimously adopted, nominating me as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. This is the second time that I have received from that patriotic Association of which you are yourself a distinguished Member the highest evidence of confidence that can be given to a citizen of our Republic. I would attempt to describe my sense of the obligations I owe them if I were not convinced that any language which I could command would fall far short of what I really feel. But if the wishes of the convention should be reallised and I should be selected as the candidate of those opposed to the principles of the present administration and success should ultimately attend their efforts, I shall have it in my power to manifest my gratitude in a manner more acceptable to those whom you represent, than by any professions of it which I could at this time make. I mean by exerting my utmost efforts to carry out the principles set forth in their Resolutions by

arresting the progress of those measures "destructive of the prosperity of the People tending to the subversion of their liberties," and substituting for them those sound Democratic Republican Doctrines, upon which the Administrations of Jefferson & Madison were conducted.

Among the principles proper to be adopted by an Executive sincerely desirous to restore the administration to its original simplicity & purity I deem the following to be of paramount importance.

I. To confine his service to a single term.

II. To disclaim all right to controul over the Public treasure with the exception of such part of it as may be appropriated by law to carry on the public service & that to be applied precisely as the law may direct & drawn from the treasury agreeably to the long established forms of that Department.

III. That he should never attempt to influence the elections either by the people or the State Legislatures, nor suffer the Federal officers under his controul to take any other part in them than by giving their own votes when they possess the right of voting.

IV. That in the exercise of the veto power he should limit his rejection of Bills to 1st such as are in his opinion unconstitutional, 2nd Such as tend to encroach on the rights of the States or of individuals.

3rd. Such as involving deep interests, may in his opinion require more mature deliberation or reference to the will of the people to be ascertained at the succeeding Elections.

V. That he should never suffer the influence of his office to be used for purposes of a purely party character.

VI. That in removals from office of those who hold their appointments during the pleasure of the Executive the cause of such removal should always be communicated to the person removed, & if he requests it, to the Senate at the time that the nomination of a successor is made.

And last but not least in importance

VII. That he should not suffer the Executive Department of the Government to become the source of legislation but leave the whole business of making the laws for the

Union to be done by the Department to which the constitution has exclusively assigned it until they have assumed that perfected shape when and where alone the opinions of the Executive may be heard. A community of power in the preparation of the laws between the Legislative & Executive Departments, must necessarily lead to dangerous commutations & greatly to the advantage of a President desirous of extending his power. Such a construction of the constitution could never have been contemplated by those who framed it, as they well knew that those who propose the bills, will always take care of themselves or the interest of their constituents & hence the provision in the constitution, borrowed from that of England, restricting the originating of Revenue bills to the immediate Representatives of the people. So far from agreeing in opinion with the distinguished character who lately retired from the Presidency that congress would have applied to him for a project of a Banking System I think that such an application would have manifested not only great subserviency upon the part of that body, but an unpardonable ignorance of the chief danger to be apprehended from such an institution. That danger unquestionably consists in an union of interests between the Executive & the Bank. Would an ambitious incumbent of the Executive chair neglect so favorable an opportunity as the preparing of the law would give him to insert in it provisions to secure his influence over it? In the authority given to the President by the constitution "to recommend to congress such measures as he shall judge necessary & expedient," it was certainly never intended that the measures he recommended should be presented in a shape suited for the immediate decision of the Legislature. The sages who made the constitution, too well knew the advantages which the crown of England derived from the exercise of this power by its ministers, to have intended it to be used by our Chief Magistrate on the Heads of the Departments under his controul. The boasted principle of the English constitution, that the consent of the Democratic Branch of the Government was not only necessary to raise money from the people, but that it was its inviolable prerogative also to

originate all the bills for the purpose is true in theory as in the letter, but rendered utterly false & nugatory in effect by the participation of the ministers of the crown in the details of Legislation. Indeed the influence they derive from sitting as members of the House of Commons & from weilding the immense patronage of the crown (constitutional or usurped) gives them a power over that body that render plausable at least the base flateries or, as is more probable the intended sarcasm, of Sir Walter Raleign in an address to James the 1st, That the demand of the sovereign upon the commons for pecuniary aid was intended only that the tax might *seem* to come from themselves, when as the inference is, it was really laid by the sovereign himself.

Having thus given you my opinion of some things which might be done, and others which should not be done, by a President coming into power by the support of those of the people who are opposed to the principles upon which the present administration is conducted, you will see that I have omitted one which is deemed by many of as much importance as any other. I alluded to the appointment of members of Congress to office by the President. The constitution contains no prohibition of such appointments, no doubt because its authors could not believe in its necessity from the purity of character which was manifested by those who possessed the confidence of the people at that period. It is however an opinion very generally entertained by the opposition party, that the country would have escaped much of the evil under which it has suffered for some years past, if the constitution had contained a provision of that kind. Having no opportunity of personal observation on the conduct of the administration for the last ten years I am unable to decide upon the truth or error of this opinion. And I should be very willing that the subserviency of the Legislative body to the Executive in several memorable instances should be accounted for in a way somewhat less injurious to the character of our country and Republicanism itself, than by the admission that the fathers of the land, the trusted servants of a virtuous people could be seduced from the path of duty & honour by the paltry trap-

pings & emoluments of dependant officers. But if the evil really exists & if there is good reason to believe, that its source is to be found in the corruptibility of the members of the Legislature an effectual remedy cannot be too soon applied. And it happens in this case that there is a choice of remedies. One of them however, is in my opinion free from the objections which might be offered to the other. The one to which I object is that which the late President has been so loudly called upon to adopt in consequence of a promise made at the commencement of his administration, viz that the Executive under no circumstances should appoint to office a member of either branch of the National Legislature. There are in my mind several weighty reasons against the adoption of this principle. I will detain you but with the mention of one or two of them, because I believe that you will agree with me that the alternative I shall present whilst it would be equally effectual contains no feature to which a reasonable objection could be raised.

As the constitution contains no provision to prevent the appointment of members of Congress to office by the Executive, could the Executive with due regard to delicacy & justice indeed, without usurping power from the people, declare a disqualification which they had not thought necessary? And where is the American Citizen who regards the honour of his country, the character of its people, or who believes in the superiority of a Republican form of Government, who would be willing to proclaim to the world, that the youthful nation, which had attracted so much of its attention, which it had so much admired for its gigantic strength, its undaunted courage, its high attainments in literature & the arts& the external beauty of its institutions, was, within a mass of meanness & corruption? that even the chosen servants of the people were ever ready for a paltry consideration to abandon their ellegiance to their lawful sovereign & to become the servants of a servant. The alternative to this degrading course, is to be found in depriving the Executive of all motive for acquiring an improper influence over the Legislature. To effect this nothing in my opinion is necessary but to reestablish the prin-

ciples upon which the administration was once conducted, with the slight addition of limiting the service of the President to one term. A condensed enumeration of what I conceive those principles to have been is given above. And I think that no one can doubt, that if faithfully carried out they would be effectual in securing the independence of the Legislature & confining the connection between it & the Executive to that alone which is warranted by fair construction of the constitution. I can conceive of but two motives which could induce a President of the United States to endeavor to procure a controuling influence over the Legislative body—viz—to perpetuate his power, by passing laws to increase his patronage—or to gratify his vanity by obtaining their sanction to his schemes & projects for the Government of the country & thus assimilating his situation to that of the limited monarchs of Europe. The principles above suggested would effectually destroy any disposition of the person elected by the combined votes of the opposition to place himself in either attitude. Retiring at the end of four years to private life with no wish or prospect of "any son of his succeeding, legitimate or adopted, he would be one the Government as prosperous & pure in its administration as when it passed from the hands of the great "Apostle of Democracy," to the father of our constitution.

To the duties which I have enumerated as proper in my opinion to be performed by a President elected by the opposition to the present Administration (& which are as I believe of constitutional obligation) I will mention another which I believe also to be of much importance. I mean the observance of the most conciliatory course of conduct towards our political opponents. After the censure which our friends have so fully & so justly bestowed upon the present Chief Magistrate for having in no inconsiderable degree disfranchised the whole body of his political opponents I am certain that no oppositionist true to the principles he professes would approve a similar course of conduct in the person whom his vote had contributed to elect. In a Republick one of the surest tests of a healthy state of its institutions

is the immunity with which every citizen may upon all occasions express his political opinions & particularly his preferences in the discharge of his duty as an elector.

The question may perhaps be asked of me what security I have it in my power to offer if I should be fixed on as the opposition candidate & they should succeed in electing me that I would adopt the principles which I have herein laid down as those upon which the administration would be conducted. I could only answer by referring to my conduct, and the disposition manifested in the discharge of the duties of several important offices which have heretofore been conferred upon me. If the power placed in my hands has on even a single occasion been used for any purpose than that for which it was given, or retained longer than even was necessary to accomplish the objects designated by those from whom these trusts were received, I will acknowledge that either will constitute a sufficient reason for discrediting any promise I may make under the circumstances in which I am now placed.

I am Dear sir
truly yours
W. H. Harrison

To the
Hon'ble
Harmer Denny

Pennsylvania Historical Commission Erects Tablet at Legionville, Marking Site of Wayne's Cantonment.

In the dedication on June 22nd of the tablet marking the site of Gen. Anthony Wayne's army cantonment at Legionville the State of Pennsylvania rendered a service to posterity by commemorating the location of the first camp for intensive military training in the United States. In his brilliant campaign against the Indians in 1793-4, Gen. Wayne's success was due quite as much to the organization and disciplining of his troops at the Legionville training camp as to generalship in the field. Intensive training, so-called, was not found in the category of military usage in the days of Wayne and his courageous "Legion," but the records leave no doubt as to the fitness of that overworked term in qualifying the process followed by the old Revolutionary veteran in fitting his men for rigorous warfare.

After two campaigns against the Indians in the Ohio territory had failed, it is not surprising that the hero of Stony Point, on taking command, turned his attention first toward organizing his troops under strict discipline. He knew that iron discipline and the temptations of a frontier town such as Pittsburgh at that time were not compatible. It was impractical to remove the temptations from the town, so Gen. Wayne resolved to remove his troops. While still using Pittsburgh as a base, he selected the level plateau above the Ohio at Logstown and there for more than four months maintained a training camp which in its essential features was a prototype of scores of similar posts used today in fitting American manhood for military service in the War of the Nations.

A war-time patriotic meeting marked the exercises attending the dedication of the tablet at Legionville. The memorial was placed by the Pennsylvania State Historical Commission. The program was arranged by a committee under the auspices of the Historical Society of Western

Pennsylvania. The historical address was made by Hon. H. W. Temple, representative in Congress from the Twenty-fourth Pennsylvania district. Hon. W. C. Sproul, chairman of the Historical Commission; Mr. William H. Stevenson, president of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania; Dr. George P. Donehoo and the Rev. Dr. J. H. Bausman were named on the program to speak. Patriotic societies invited to attend were the Pennsylvania Society, Sons of the American Revolution; the Fort McIntosh and the Pittsburgh chapters, Daughters of the American Revolution; the Pennsylvania Society, Colonial Dames and the Dolly Madison chapter, United States Daughters of 1812.

The tablet has been placed at the side of the Lincoln Highway marking the northern portion of the cantonment site.

Notes and Queries.

REV. JOHN TAYLOR, THE FIRST RECTOR OF TRINITY CHURCH, PITTSBURGH.—Interview with Sarah Huston Limber, the Daughter of Mr. Taylor's Wife by Her First Husband, William Huston.

The following notes were taken about the year 1857, by the Rev. Dr. A. McC. Reid, for many years principal of the Steubenville Female Seminary, who died on March 24, in his ninety-first year. He was married to a granddaughter of Mrs. Limber. The notes were supplied to the magazine by Franklin T. Nevin, Esq., a descendant of the Rev. John Taylor. While there are undoubted inaccuracies in the story of Mrs. Limber owing to the natural failure of memory, after the lapse of the large number of years intervening since the occurrence of the events related, yet in the main it is correct, and confirms a number of the statements in regard to the earlier years of Mr. Taylor, made in the January number of the magazine.

"I am of Irish descent. My father was born in Dublin; my mother in County Antrim. My mother came over to be housekeeper for Squire Agnew in Carlisle. The Squire had promised to make my mother his heir, but this condition was appended: She must not marry an officer in the American army. But my mother saw, met and fell in love with Lieutenant Huston, and they ran off and got married. My mother was an Old School Presbyterian, and she wanted a minister of that denomination to marry her, but Squire Agnew had forbidden all the ministers and squires in Carlisle to marry them.

"My father was rather a proud man. He was tall, six feet two in his stockings. He wore ruffled shirts and short clothes with silver knee buckles, white silk stockings reaching above the knee and low shoes with silver buckles. He always had a servant to dress him. After the marriage my father returned to the army. He was wounded seriously by an Indian after the battle and massacre of Wyoming, when the Americans were retreating. He was coming down a steep precipice, leading his horse, when a ball from an Indian's musket went through his right arm at the elbow. This was near the north branch of the Susquehanna, some distance above Sunbury. One of the officers cut a piece off his shirt and stuffed it into the bullet hole. He then tied the arm with a bandanna handkerchief. The wound could not be dressed until they reached Sunbury. My father lived five years after receiving the wound, but it caused his death in the end, throwing him into consumption. The physicians met three times to take off the arm, but each time they found it too much swollen or father in too great a fever. The wound healed over every winter, but broke out again in summer. A teacupful of bones came out of it. He was still with the army a great part of the time. He died at West Point in August, 1785, when I was six years old. From West Point, my mother, who then had three children, went to Lancaster to live, near my father's friends. We stayed in Lancaster about six years. * * * My mother remained a widow five years. She was in the habit of going to Philadelphia every fall to draw her pension of sixty pounds. On one of these visits, in the fall of 1790 or 1791, she was married to the Rev. Mr. Taylor of the Episcopal church, who was then teaching in an academy in Philadelphia. I behaved very ugly and wouldn't call Papa Taylor 'Father' for three months. I was about twelve. My two younger sisters, Polly and Lydia, were very glad and clapped

their little hands for joy, 'now that they had a papa like other children.' Mr. Taylor continued in Philadelphia to complete his engagement at the academy until the next spring. * * * From Lancaster we moved in the spring of 1791 to Philadelphia, where we stayed about six months.

"From Philadelphia we went, late in the fall, to Northampton county, seven miles from Bethlehem, nine miles from Nazareth and about eleven or twelve miles from Easton. Here Mr. Taylor preached occasionally for Mr. Pepper, an Old School Presbyterian minister. Mr. Pepper wore a large wig, according to the custom of the time, * * * at this place Mr. Taylor taught school. He had also a number of scholars in surveying. Several of them were married men. We remained about a year.

"From Northampton county we went to Easton, where Mr. Taylor had a large school. He had pupils in Greek and Latin and surveying, as well as in the common branches. In this town we lived about a year. From Easton we went to Sunbury. * * * Here Mr. Taylor taught school again and preached sometimes to the prisoners in the jail. * * * We remained about a year. From Sunbury we went to Bald Eagle, five miles or so from Dunn's Island, up the west branch of the Susquehanna, in Lycoming County. Mr. Taylor wanted to get to the backwoods, where there were 'plain, honest people and no rogues.' Mother told him he would never get to that place while she lived. Here I met, loved and married Thomas Limber. He was thirty and I fifteen. While here Mr. Taylor taught and preached up at Milesburg. Mr. Taylor and my mother left there before my husband and I. They went to King's Creek, in Western Virginia, to Swearingen's, to teach, somewhere near Steubenville, about 1796.

Mr. Swearingen came for Mr. Taylor with seven horses and packsaddles, and took them all, bag and baggage, three children tied to one horse. Here they resided perhaps three years. Mr. Taylor taught school and practiced physic * * * * From King's Creek Mr. Taylor went to Jordans Landing, nearly opposite Economy. At Jordans Landing he preached and practiced medicine. From Jordans Landing he went to Pittsburgh, in the fall of 1799, where he and Mr. Stockton taught an academy.

THE RATTLESNAKE FLAG OF WESTMORELAND COUNTY.

—Prof. Milo H. Miller sends the following:

When the news of Lexington and Concord reached Pittsburgh during the first week in May, 1775, the liberty loving Scots and Irish of the frontier, forgot, for the time, their local jealousies and quarrels about the rival claims of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and united in defense of their mutual rights as Americans. Pennsylvanians and Virginians in Western Pennsylvania joined hands to resist the hard enactments of the British Parliament. Two committees of correspondence were organized, one in Westmoreland county and the other in West Augusta, as the Virginians called the portion of the border which they controlled.

The Pittsburgh meeting was held on Tuesday, May 16, 1775, and was largely attended. A committee of 28 men, all more or less famous in border annals, was appointed. This committee adopted unanimously a resolution approving the acts of the New Englanders in resisting "the invaders of American rights and privileges to the utmost extreme," and formulated plans for the organization of military companies to be ready for the country's call.

On the day succeeding the meeting at Pittsburgh, "a general meeting of the inhabitants of Westmoreland" was held in the log cabin settlement at Hannastown, near Greensburg. Here also the action taken was distinctly revolutionary. The assembly voted it to be the duty of every true American, "by every means which God has put in his power, "to resist the oppression of the British Parliament and ministry ,and they proceeded to form a military organization called the Association of Westmoreland County, whose purpose was declared to be forcible resistance to the power of Great Britain.

The attitude of Capt. Arthur St. Clair, who afterwards served with distinction in the Revolutionary War, is interesting as showing how some of the patriots shrank from the contest with the mother country. On May 18, he wrote to Joseph Shippen, Jr., the provincial secretary, as follows: "God grant an end may be speedily put to any necessity of such proceedings. I doubt their utility and am almost as much afraid of success in this contest as of being vanquished."

In accordance with the Hannastown resolution, meetings were held in every township one week later. On Thursday, May 25, St. Clair wrote to Governor Penn: "We have nothing but musters and committees all over the country and everything seems to be running into the wildest confusion. If some conciliating plan is not adopted by the congress, America has seen her golden days; they may return, but will be preceded by scenes of horror."

His forecast was correct. It was because the prospect of civil war appalled him that St. Clair doubted and held back at the outset. But he did not hesitate long. He was too good a patriot for that. When he realized that the crisis could not be avoided, he earnestly devoted his life and his fortune to the patriot cause.

But to speak of the rattlesnake flag, which was adopted as the emblem of Westmoreland County. The yeomen of the county formed themselves into companies, elected their officers and organized two battalions. The officers of the first battalion were: Colonel, John Proctor, the first sheriff of the county; lieutenant colonel, Archibald Lochry; major, John Shields. The officers of the second battalion were: colonel, John Carnahan, then sheriff; lieutenant colonel, Providence Mountz; major, James Smith, a famous character on the frontier, whose narrative of captivity among the Indians is one of the most famous stories of the border. It was Colonel Proctor's battalion which adopted as its banner the celebrated rattlesnake flag. The original was of crimson silk, having, in the corner, on a blue field, the red and white crosses of St. George and St. Andrew. The emblems are worked in gold. Above a rattlesnake, coiled to strike, are the characters, "I. B. W. C. P.," meaning, First Battalion, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, and below the serpent is the motto, "Don't Tread on Me." Near the flag's upper margin is a monogram of J. P., the initials of John Proctor.

The flag was never carried into battle, but it was, doubtless, borne to Philadelphia when the battalion was called to the succor of that city in the spring of 1777. The standard bearer was Lieutenant Samuel Craig, who, on November 1, of the same year, was waylaid and killed or captured at the western base of the Chestnut Ridge Mountains. Rangers found his beautiful mare lying dead near the trail, with eight bullets in her, but not the slightest trace of the rider was ever discovered. The silken relic is still carefully preserved by Craig's descendants in New Alexandria, Pa.

A fine reproduction in colors of this historic emblem is found in the *National Geographic Magazine* for October, 1917.

GALLATIN HONORED IN NEW NAME OF HIGHWAY.—According to a resolution adopted by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania at the meeting May 28th, 1918, it is proposed to name the improved road between Pittsburgh and Clarksburg, West Virginia, the "Gallatin Highway" in honor of Albert Gallatin, patriot, statesman and one of the most distinguished pioneers of the Monongahela valley. The highway affords a direct route between Pittsburgh and the flourishing towns in central West Virginia, and by continuing the improvement, offers the shortest road to the South via the Virginia mountain resorts. Leaving Pittsburgh at South Eighteenth street the highway passes through Mt. Oliver, Carrick, Castle Shannon, Library, Finleyville, Monongahela City, Uniontown, Morgantown, Fairmont and Clarksburg, its length exceeding 125 miles. Between Uniontown and Morgantown the road passes to the eastward of New Geneva, the settlement on the Monogahela which was founded by Gallatin and named by him in honor of his native city in Switzerland.

CONFEDERATE DEAD IN PITTSBURGH.—In the Uniondale Cemetery, North Side, Pittsburgh, the graves of eight men in the service of the Confederate States who died 1861-5 while prisoners of war in Pittsburgh have been reclaimed. After remaining in neglect for more than half a century, the graves were found by members of Nevin Camp No. 33, Sons of Veterans, while arranging for the Memorial Day exercises this year. The resting place of each Confederate was marked with an American flag and on Memorial Day the Sons of Veterans planted flowers on the long-forgotten plot. The matter was reported to the Pittsburgh Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, and at its annual meeting in June the organization of Southern women took steps toward recovering the burial records and by communication with Confederate organizations in the South is seeking to establish the identity of the dead. A committee has been appointed to erect a monument to mark the graves. In the dedication of this memorial the United Daughters of the Confederacy will invite the co-operation of organizations of Union soldiers.

List of Articles Presented To the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

21. Almanacs.
The Whig Almanac and United States Register. Calculated by Samuel H. Wright, New York, year 1852.
The Protestant Episcopal Almanac. Edited at Bible House, New York, year 1865.
The Methodist Almanac. Edited by W. H. DuPuy, D. D., New York, year 1877.
Ayer's American Almanac. Published by Dr. J. C. Ayer, Lowell, Mass., year 1855.
Father Tammany Almanac. Calculated by B. Workman, Philadelphia, Pa., year 1788.
Farmers Almanac. Published by A. Diamond & Co., Philadelphia, Pa., year 1860.
Bailey's Rittenhouse Almanacs. Calculated by Abraham Shoemaker, Philadelphia, Pa., years 1810, 1811, 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815.
Carey's Franklin Almanac. Calculated by Abraham Shoemaker, Philadelphia, Pa., year 1804.
Old Franklin Almanac. Published by A. Winch, Philadelphia, Pa., year 1866.
The Tribune Almanac. Compiled by J. E. Cleveland, New York, year 1862.
Cramer's Magazine Almanack. Calculated by Rev. John Taylor, Pittsburgh, Pa., year 1817.
Cramer's Pittsburgh Almanack. Calculated by Rev. John Taylor, Pittsburgh, Pa., year 1819.
Franklin Magazine Almanac. Calculated by John Armstrong, Pittsburgh, Pa., year 1819.
Pittsburgh Almanac. Calculated by John Armstrong, Pittsburgh, Pa., year 1824.
Loomis' Magazine Almanac. Calculated by Sanford C. Hill, Pittsburgh, Pa., years 1850, 1851.
Hunt & Miner's Pittsburgh Almanac. Calculated by Sanford C. Hill, Pittsburgh, Pa., years 1859, 1861.
Miner's Pittsburgh Almanac. Calculated by Sanford C. Hill, Pittsburgh, Pa., years 1862, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1871, 1872.
Henry Miner's Pittsburgh Almanac. Calculated by Milton B. Goff, A. M., Pittsburgh, Pa., years 1873, 1874, 1875.
Presented by Mr. O. S. Decker.

22. Register
Baptismal Register of Fort Duquesne from June, 1754, to Dec., 1756. Translated with an introductory Essay and Notes by Rev. A. A. Lambing, A. M., Pittsburgh, 1885. Presented by Mr. O. S. Decker.

23. Belt and Sword
Which belonged to Wm. N. Burchfield, Lieutenant of Volunteer Infantry The Independent Blues, worn on Muster and Parade days. Year 1833. Presented by Dr. J. P. Burchfield.

24. Epaulet.
Worn by Wm. N. Burchfield, First Lieutenant of Independent

Blues, East Liberty, 1833. Presented by Dr. J. P. Burchfield.

25. Gun.
Shot gun belonging to Wm. N. Burchfield was used in hunting game in the Squirrel Hill region some time during 1820-1850. Presented by Dr. J. P. Burchfield.

26. Gun
Belonging to Wm. N. Burchfield, originally a flint-lock rifle, and was used in hunting wild game in the Squirrel Hill region some time during the years 1830-1850. Presented by Dr. J. P. Burchfield.

27. Powder Horn
Belonging to and used by Wm. N. Burchfield during the years 1820-1850. Presented by Dr. J. P. Burchfield.

28. Article of Agreement
Made and concluded this 17th day of February in the year of 1841 between Wm. N. Burchfield of the one part and Patrick & John Israil of the other part, all of Allegheny County, State of Pennsylvania, for the rental of part of the Burchfield farm (this farm is now part of Schenley Park). Presented by Dr. J. P. Burchfield.

29. Frame
Containing twelve receipts belonging to Wm. N. Burchfield, years of 1826, 1828, 1835, 1836, 1838, 1840, 1842. Presented by Dr. J. P. Burchfield.

30. Receipts
Of Adam Burchfield for the years 1801-1823. Presented by Dr. J. P. Burchfield.

31. Certificate
The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, aware of the interest Rev. A. A. Lambing, A. M., takes in the history of Western Pennsylvania, at a regular meeting of this Society, held in the City of Pittsburgh on the thirteenth day of December A. D., 1883, elected him a Life Member of said Society.

Witness its Seal hereunto attached and duly attested
David W. Miller, Corresp. Secretary.
W. M. Gormly, Record. Secretary,
John E. Park, President.

Presented by Rev. A. A. Lambing, A. M.

32. Colored Lithograph
By Ralph Trembly of a picture of an attempt to burn John Harris in the year 1720. "Painted by Reeder." Presented by Mrs. John S. Flannery.

33. Photograph
Of Trinity Church, Pittsburgh, taken down in 1825. Presented by Miss Anne H. Robinson.

34. Newspapers
, The Philadelphia Weekly Press, Saturday, November 21st, 1857.
Atkinson's Saturday Evening Post, Phila., June 23rd, 1832.
Presented by Mrs. W. G. Hawkins, Jr.

35. Frame
Containing photographs of Dr. David Alter, born near Parnassus, 1807; died at Freeport, Pa., 1881; discoverer spectrum analysis, inventor electric telegraph, electric motor; also picture of tomb erected by fellow citizens in 1910. Presented by Miss Della McMeans.

36. Frame
Containing photographs of monument marking boundary of William Penn's Purchase, dedicated at Cherry Tree, Pa., Nov. 17th, 1894. And Cherry Tree in 1909. Presented by Miss Della McMeans.

37. Frame
Containing photographs of Eldersridge where Dr. Alexander Donaldson labored in school and church. Where the Academy started—The Academy buildings 1911. The church (Presbyterian). Presented by Miss Della McMeans.

38. Pledge
We do agree that we will not use intoxicating liquors as a beverage, nor traffic in them, nor provide them for others, and that we will in all suitable ways discountenance their use in the community.
Written and Signed by John B. Gough, 1851.
Presented by Mr. R. S. Davis.

39. Wood
From Old Fort Pitt, built in 1759. Presented by Mr. Robert B. Townsend.

40. Hoop-Iron.
Taken from an old cannon found on the site of Fort Duquesne, which was supposed to have been placed there by the French in 1754. Presented by Miss Marion Garrett.

The Society is indebted to Mr. E. C. Morey, for a complete set of "The Third Liberty Loan Posters."

Mrs. S. A. Ammon presented to the Society fifteen volumes Reports of The National Society of the D. A. R., The History of Fort Pitt and Letters from the Frontier. By Mrs. Mary Carson Darlington.

Dr. Homer J. Webster presented to the Society a volume of his latest works, "The History of the Democratic Party Organization in the North West 1824-1840."

The New York Historical Society presented to our Society fifty Historical Volumes.

Home of William Robinson, Jr., on the West Side of Federal Street Between General Robinson Street and River Avenue.

On this location Mr. Robinson was born, and in this house he resided for many years, and until his death in 1868. The building was torn down in 1874, the site being now occupied by the Rodgers Building and the Beckert Seed Store.

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 1, No. 4. October, 1918. Price, 40 Cents.

Old Allegheny.

BY CHARLES W. DAHLINGER.

INTRODUCTORY.

Allegheny is a city of the past, yet her story has never been written. She was not one of the great cities of the United States. It is true that in population she was the third city of Pennsylvania, but her neighbor across the Allegheny River was so much more important, that her fame was always more or less obscured thereby. There was nothing startling in her history. The narrative of her early existence is the story of many other pioneer communities; her entry into industry, and its development within her boundaries, is only a repetition of that which happened in a greater degree in Pittsburgh. A publication of her annals may not serve any great end; historians will not find in them matter that would tend to aid other cities in passing over the rough places in urban life. Yet an account of the defunct city is worth preserving. Here the Indians tarried longer than in Pittsburgh; some of the noblest figures in Colonial history moved over her paths and through her woods. To the descendants of the men and women who made up the early life and maturer years of Allegheny, her history should bring up tender recollections of their ancestors and of the scenes through which they moved and had their being.

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CHAPTER I.
INDIAN DAYS.

On March 12, 1783, the legislature of Pennsylvania enacted a law setting apart three thousand acres of the public lands opposite Fort Pitt, for the purpose of carrying into effect an older law which provided that the depreciation certificates issued to the Pennsylvania soldiers in the Revolutionary armies, should be received in payment for lands of the State on a parity with gold and silver. The three thousand acres became known as the reserve tract opposite Pittsburgh. At this time the title to all the lands in Pennsylvania north and west of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers was in the Indians. Although there had been settlers in the country south and east of the two rivers since 1758, when General Forbes captured Fort Duquesne from the French, the territory on the other side of the two streams was still the haunt of the red men, mingled with whom were a few renegade whites, and criminals who had fled from the settlements.

The country was of sylvan beauty; it was a land of hill and dale, forest and meadow, with silvery streamlets murmuring toward the rivers. Savage beasts inhabited its depths. In the hills beyond the rivers skulked the wolf; bears infested the country; the panther prowled about seeking victims. Wild turkeys were plentiful. Over the waters of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers echoed the weird cry of the loon.

On the north side of the Ohio River, eighteen miles from Allegheny, immediately below the present town of Economy, the Shawanese had established a hamlet in 1730. The French named it Chiningue' and the English Logstown, probably because some of the cabins were built of logs, and to distinguish it from other Indian villages where the inhabitants lived in ruder shelters. From this point the influence of the Indians radiated in every direction. Here the French and English built trading houses. When the contention for supremacy in the Ohio Valley between the French and English became acute, Logstown was the objective of all the agents sent out by the rival nationalities, to conciliate

the savages. The land between the Allegheny and Ohio rivers was early looked upon as the strategic point in the impending struggle. Moved by interest as well as curiosity, the Indians watched every movement of the contending forces. In order to be nearer the scene of probable action, the Senecas established a village on the north side of the Allegheny River, in what was subsequently the First Ward of the city of Allegheny. (1)

The village was ruled by Queen Alliquippa, celebrated in history and story. Conrad Weiser, who in 1748 was sent by the Council of the Province of Pennsylvania, to visit the Indians of the Ohio country and gain their confidence and friendship, stopped at the Seneca hamlet. With a small party, in which was William Franklin, afterward royal governor of New Jersey, the son of Benjamin Franklin, Weiser had come down the Allegheny from the Kiskiminetas, on his way to Logstown. His coming and the fact that he was bringing presents were known to the Indians, who received him with every demonstration of joy; many guns were fired. "We saluted the town by firing off four pistols," Weiser recorded in his journal. "An old woman reigns there with great authority"; and he related that he dined with Alliquippa at her house. (2) DeCeleron in command of an expedition consisting of two hundred soldiers and a band of Indians, traveling in twenty-three birch-bark canoes, was sent the next year from Canada to take constructive possession of the Ohio country in the name of the French king. Like Weiser, he lingered at the Indian hamlet while on his way to Logstown. He described the site of the village as the "most beautiful" which until that time he had seen on *La Belle Riviere.* But the place was nearly deserted, and white flags were flying from a number of the cabins; all the inhabitants except four, one of whom was the sturdy queen, and six English traders had fled in alarm at DeCeleron's approach. (3) The chaplain, who came with DeCeleron, Father Joseph Pierre de Bonnecamps, who described himself as a Jesuit and mathematician, was without doubt the first clergyman of any persuasion who was ever on the location of Allegheny.

tory, traveled this route on his way to Logstown. (7) Washington on his mission to the West in 1753, went through Allegheny over the same road. On November 24, with Christopher Gist, his guide, he reached the junction of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers. Here they were joined by Jacob vanBraam, the interpreter, and by four attendants, who had come down the Monongahela in a canoe borrowed from John Frazier, the Indian trader at Turtle Creek. (8) The Allegheny must have been crossed at a point between Nelson's Island and Smoky Island, both long since washed away, the location of which has through alluvial accretions, and because the refuse of the town was dumped there, become part of the mainland, being the site of the old Base Ball Park, the Pittsburgh and Western Railroad yards, and of a number of manufacturing plants. The next day they called on King Shingiss at Chartiers Creek. In making the visit they probably proceeded westward along the Indian trail to Woods Run and there crossed the Ohio River.

Christian Frederick Post, the Moravian missionary, was on this road in 1758. The French by a movement from Canada of unprecedented rapidity, had seized the point of land at the head of the Ohio River lying between the Allegheny and Monongahela, and built Fort Duquesne. At once the smouldering embers blazed into flame. War commenced. The first attempt of the English in 1755, under General Edward Braddock, to dislodge the French, failed ignominously. In 1758 they sent an expedition commanded by General John Forbes. In this warfare the Indians willingly or unwillingly took sides. Forbes was determined to detach the Indians from the French cause. For this purpose he employed Post to go into the Ohio country. With only three Indians to guide him into the wilderness, (9) the intrepid missionary undertook the dangerous journey. His visit to Logstown created intense interest, and the Indians assembled there and insisted that he go with them to Fort Duquesne; they declared that eight different nations were represented there who all wanted to hear his message. On August 24, with a large number of Indians he proceeded along the Indian trail toward Fort Duquesne, arriving in Allegheny in the

afternoon. Two days later a meeting was held near the river in sight of the French stronghold.

In the shadow of the giant sycamore trees the missionary addressed the Indians. Several French officers watched the meeting with anxious eyes. Other officers were seated about a table which had been brought over from the fort, taking a report of the proceedings. Post says, "I spoke with a free conscience and perceived by the looks of the French that they were not pleased with what I said." The speech was full of homely phrases and imagery dear to Indian ears. He pleaded for peace, for brotherly love and friendship with the English. The value of wampum was not forgotten, at every pause in his speech he held up "a string" or "a belt," or "a belt of eleven rows" or "a belt of seven rows," or "a large peace belt."

At the conclusion of the address, the Delawares and Mingoes proclaimed that they were for peace; the Shawanese promised to send the belts to all the Indians and in twelve days to meet again. And at break of day, as the Sunday morning guns of Fort Duquesne boomed out their call to early mass, accompanied by only six Indians, Post rode away. Instead of returning to Fort Augusta by way of Logstown, he took a northerly route through Allegheny, for fear of being pursued by the French. The apostle of peace had triumphed; not an Indian whom he reached, raised an arm against the English. And the conquest of the Ohio Valley became easier; Fort Pitt was erected, and the establishment of English supremacy in the West made certain.

The English victory did not bring peace and quiet on the Western border. Pontiac began his great uprising in 1763, and by a sudden concerted movement spread death and terror along the frontier. Fort after fort fell before his assaults; every settlement and every farm was abandoned; the settlers fled in wild panic to places of expected safety. Fort Pitt was surrounded and cut off from communication with the other settlements. For forty-eight days the siege continued. The rendezvous of the Indians was in Allegheny; from this vantage-ground they crossed the Allegheny River and dug themselves in under the banks of that and the

Monongahela River. Their fire on the fort from their hiding places was incessant, by day and night; with fire arrows they attempted to set fire to the fort. The death halloos in their own ranks demonstrated that the shots of the besieged were not without effect. Colonel Henry Bouquet, who had been second in authority under Forbes, commanded the English troops in Pennsylvania. At Carlisle he collected an army and on July 19 (10) marched to the relief of Fort Pitt. At Bushy Run, in Westmoreland County, he met the savages and defeated them with great loss.

For a time the Indians were cowed into submission. In the spring of 1764 from their settlements on the Muskingum River, they recommenced their depredations. Again Colonel Bouquet was sent against them. (11) Once more an army was gathered at Carlisle, which on September 17, arrived at Fort Pitt. On October 3 Colonel Bouquet with his troops left Fort Pitt, and crossing the Allegheny River proceeded west. It was a well organized, and well equipped force, that first army of white soldiers which ever marched through Allegheny. Among them were trained regulars, volunteers from Pennsylvania and Virginia, a troop of light horse, and women to serve as nurses. Trains of pack-horses carried the baggage, ammunition and provisions; and there were droves of cattle and herds of sheep for the further sustenance of the army. With the drivers and camp-followers the force was fifteen hundred strong. Its appearance in the heart of the Indian country struck terror into the souls of the savages lurking in the distance. The route was down Ohio Street, across the West common, and along Water Lane. Judge Daniel Agnew said the camp for the first night was located about a half or three-quarters of a mile below the old Penitentiary. (12) It was probably on Water Lane somewhere between Allegheny Avenue and Fulton Street. Captain Thomas Hutchins, during the Revolution, Geographer General of the United States, who was assistant engineer in this expedition, writing of the beginning of the trail, said it went "over rich, level land with stately timber to the Ohio." (13)

During the Revolution the land opposite Fort Pitt con-

tinued to be a gathering place for the Indians. Nelson's Island and Smoky Island, from both of which they could observe what transpired about the fort, were their favorite camp-grounds. The Indians who collected there were generally friendly to the whites, yet in 1782 on Smoky Island a number were treacherously slain for no other reason apparently, than that they were Indians. General William Irvine, writing from Fort Pitt on March 25, 1782, reported that part of the force which murdered the Moravian Indians in their settlements on the Muskingum River, on their return from committing that butchery, had come to Pittsburg and attacked the Indians on Smoky Island. Two of the men killed held captains' commissions in the Continental Army; the others either escaped into the woods on the mainland, or effected their entry into the fort. (14)

On October 21, 1874, the Six Nations concluded a treaty at Fort Stanwix by which all the Indian lands in Pennsylvania, except a tract on Lake Erie, were ceded to the State.

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CHAPTER II.

THE WHITE MAN ASSUMES THE BURDEN.

There is every indication that settlements were made in the territory opposite Pittsburgh by white men prior to 1784. At least one settler is known to have lived there and to have fenced in and cultivated land before that year. This was James Boggs, who had taken possession of a tract on the bank of the Allegheny River, a short distance below where Federal Street is now located. It is morally certain also that others had squatted in this country before the extinction of the Indian title; and it is well known that at least two ferries were authorized previous to that time, with a terminus on the Indian land. It was understood that a town was in contemplation on that side of the river, and men of foresight and perhaps influence with those in authority, procured the ferry rights in anticipation of that event. It is doubtful, however, if either of the ferries were operated with any degree of profit, if at all, until after the town was laid out and lots sold and settled upon. On September 25, 1783, the legislature granted Colonel William Butler the right to establish a ferry from Pittsburgh to the north side of the Allegheny at the mouth of a small run which emptied into the river immediately west of West Canal Street. The lot for the landing fronted one hundred and twenty feet on the river, and extended back a depth of five hundred feet.

Colonel Butler was a distinguished citizen. In partnership with his still more famous brother, General Richard Butler, he had been an Indian trader in Pittsburgh as early as 1774. He was a gallant soldier in the Revolutionary War, being lieutenant colonel of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment. After the Revolution he resided in the log house at the southeast corner of Penn Street and Marbury, now Fourth Street. That the ferry was not established at the point contemplated, is apparent from the fact that on June 23, 1786, the Supreme Executive Council of the State decided that the location was not suitable for a ferry, being subject to overflow, and gave Colonel Butler

permission to establish a ferry on other land. (1) The new location was east of the old site and near the mouth of Balkam, now Alcor Street. At the same time Colonel Butler was authorized to plough, sow and otherwise cultivate the ground formerly occupied by James Boggs, in return for which he was required to serve as a sort of forest ranger, and "prevent the commission of waste upon the timbers in the reserve tract." (2) On this land the northern terminus of the ferry was established. It was the twenty acres comprised in out lots numbered 34 and 35, which extended to the South Park, title to which was afterward obtained by Colonel Butler from the State. As he died in 1789, his career as a ferryman was brief.

On March 11, 1784, the legislature granted Daniel Elliott, the right to establish a ferry from his land at the mouth of Saw Mill Run on the south side of the Ohio River to a point in the reserve tract, a short distance east of Ferry Lane, now Beaver Avenue, and at the mouth of Chateau Street. The ferry was in all likelihood intended for the accommodation of settlers on their way west, who came down the path on the south side of the Monongahela River, or through the valley watered by Saw Mill Run. Elliott's location remained the site of a ferry for more than a hundred and thirty years, and the ferry was only discontinued on August 9, 1915, on the completion of the new Point Bridge over the Allegheny River. It is scarcely probable that Elliott ever lived on the north side of the river. It is more likely that he continued to reside at the southern terminus of his ferry.

Hugh Henry Brackenridge, afterward a justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, writing in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* of July 26, 1786, being the initial number of the newspaper, said of the land opposite Pittsburgh: "On the west side of the Allegheny River * * * is a level of three thousand acres, reserved by the state to be laid out in lots for the purpose of a town. A small stream at right angles to the river passes through it. On this ground it is supposed a town may stand; but on all hands it is excluded from the praise of being a situation so convenient as on the side of the river,

where the present town is placed; yet it is a most delightful grove of oak, cherry and walnut trees." (3)

One of the oldest settlers in the reserve tract was James Robinson. His log house was near the Allegheny River opposite St. Clair Street, in Pittsburgh. In front of the cabin a road ran northerly, which after 1787 was called the Franklin Road, and later became Federal Street. On April 10, 1787, Captain Jonathon Heart was ordered to proceed with his command from Pittsburgh to Venango on the Allegheny, one hundred and fifty miles north of Pittsburgh, there to erect a suitable work (4) as a protection against the Indians, who had become menacing. On the northerly side of the river about half a mile from the mouth of French Creek, and near the site of Fort Venango, he constructed a wooden fort which he named Fort Franklin (5) in honor of Benjamin Franklin, the idol of American public life. The road in front of Robinson's house was called the Franklin Road because it led to Fort Franklin, following the route taken by Captain Heart.

In 1781, James Robinson was a resident of Pittsburgh, being one of the signers to the petition sent to the Supreme Executive Council by citizens of that place, protesting against the high-handed conduct of General Daniel Brodhead, the commander of Fort Pitt. (6) In what year he went to the north side of the river is not known, but it was probably after the legislature had set off the reserve tract, and before or during 1785, as on December 17 of that year his son, William Robinson, Jr., was born there. It is said of the son that he was the first white child, or at least boy, born on that side of the Allegheny River. It is related that James Robinson's home was once attacked by Indians during the owner's absence, and was defended by his wife, who held the Indians at bay until assistance arrived. Robinson lived in some state owning a few negro slaves, and having a number of horses, oxen and cows on his place. (7) In his house he conducted an inn; he also operated a ferry connecting the reserve tract with St. Clair Street. In 1803 he moved into the brick house which he had just completed, being the first brick house erected in the reserve tract. (8)

For many years this was the most prominent point on the north side of the river. It was a landmark and nearly everything of moment happening north of the Allegheny River was described as occurring at a certain distance from Robinson's ferry.

On September 11, 1787, the legislature enacted a law directing the Supreme Executive Council to lay out a town in the reserve tract. The Council was to reserve within the town sufficient land for a court house, jail, market house, for places of public worship and for burying the dead, and without the town, one hundred acres for a common pasture. At that time the reserve tract was in Westmoreland County. Three days after the law was placed on the statute books, an attempt was made in the legislature to create the county of Allegheny. The effort met with decided opposition and failed of passage, largely because of the provision placing the county seat in the reserve tract. One of the members of the House in opposing the bill asked, "Will five hundred people be able to support the expense * * *? The people will have to cross the river to attend the court, the county-town and goal being on the west side, and there is not a soul to commit, unless it is the bears, for there is not a soul living on that side of the river Ohio." (9)

There were others besides the prejudiced members of the legislature, and who had some knowledge of the site of the proposed town who spoke disparagingly of it. David Redick was a member of the Supreme Executive Council and represented Washington County in that body. The Council had given him a hundred pounds for defraying the expense of laying out the town and had delegated him to take charge of the work. (10) Writing from Washington on February 19, 1788, to Benjamin Franklin, the president of the Council, he remarked: "On Tuesday last I went with several gentlemen to fix on a spot for laying out the town opposite Pittsburgh, and at the same time took a general view of the tract, and find it far inferior to my expectation, although I thought I had been no stranger to it. There is some pretty low ground on the rivers Ohio and Alleghenia; but there is only a small proportion of dry land which ap-

pears in any way valuable, either for timber or soil, but especially for soil; it abounds with high hills and deep hollows, almost inaccessible to a surveyor. I cannot believe * * * that small lots on the sides of those hills can ever be of use * * *. Perhaps the Council may think proper to lay the case before the legislature. I shall go on to do the business as soon as the weather will admit; and before I shall have proceeded further than may accord with the plan here proposed, I may have the necessary information, whether to go on as the law now directs, or not."

One of the reasons for Mr. Redick's adverse report may have been on account of the cursory manner in which he made the inspection, owing to the extremely cold weather. In his letter to Franklin, he declared that the country had never experienced a winter more severe. (11) "The mercury," he wrote, had been "12 degrees below the extreme cold point at Pittsburgh within the bulb or bottle * * *. It has been altogether impossible for me until within the last few days to stir from the fireside."

There are only a few accounts extant describing the early days of the reserve tract. That of Colonel John May of Boston, who visited Pittsburgh in 1788, is of some interest. He had come down the southern side of the Monongahela River and taken lodgings at the tavern and ferry house of Marcus Hulings on the south side of the river, opposite the foot of Liberty Street. On May 9, he commented in his journal on the Indians on the reserve tract. (12) "There are a number of Indians on the other side of the river. Many of them are often over in Pittsburgh. I cannot say I am fond of them, for they are frightfully ugly, and a pack of thieves and beggars. One of their chiefs died day before yesterday, and another, as I learn, is just going to his black master. These Indians are of an evil nature. Only three days agone, some of the infernals killed a white man, without any provocation that I could hear of."

Five days later Colonel May took tea with Colonel Butler at his home. The next day he was a member of a distinguished party in an excursion on the Allegheny River. In the company was General Josiah Harmar, the commander

of the regiment, provided by Congress for the defense of the western frontiers upon the disbanding of the Revolutionary armies, who had just returned from a visit to Captain Heart at Fort Franklin. Another guest was General Samuel H. Parsons, who had been a rival of General Arthur St. Clair, for the governorship of the newly created Northwestern Territory, and was then one of its judges. The trip was made in General Harmar's barge, the Congress, a boat fifty feet long, rowed by twelve men, in white uniforms and caps. "This is a rapid but beautiful river," Colonel May wrote. "The soil on each side is very good. * * * We visited the farm of Colonel Butler on the north side of the river, where is a very beautiful spot. Among other objects of curiosity, we went to see some Indian graves, at the head of which poles are fixed, daubed with red. These are left out of the ground as tall as the part buried. We visited the grave of old Kimtony, the Indian chief, who died a few days since. Kimtony, in Indian, means warpole in English I am told, the name given him on account of his exploits in war." (13) The late William M. Darlington, who was an authority on local Indian lore, thought the Indian graves were near the eastern boundary of Colonel Butler's land. (14)

The work of laying out the town as planned went on to completion notwithstanding the questions raised by Mr. Redick. It consisted of town lots and out lots, and it was provided that with each town lot the purchaser would receive an out lot; and in the rougher part of the reserve tract a number of the out lots were to be taken together and sold as farms. On November 19, 1788, the lots were sold at public auction in Philadelphia. The lots laid out over the land occupied by James Robinson, Colonel Butler and Daniel Elliott were reserved; and were held for the occupants, who were allowed to purchase them at a valuation fixed by the Council. The name given the town was "Alleghany," after the chain of mountains which run transversely through the State. But it was almost immediately corrupted into Allegheny, in order to conform to the spelling adopted for the river on the bank of which it was to arise. In the center of the town were four squares intended for public uses. The

town was bounded by what is now Stockton Avenue, Montgomery Avenue, Union Avenue and Sherman Avenue. Surrounding the town was the common ground called the North, South, East and West common, long since converted into public parks, each section still retaining the prefix north, south, east and west. Bounding the common ground were the out lots. In a block house on the West common, built as a place of refuge from the Indians, the first day-school in Allegheny was conducted. (15)

There may have been difficulties to overcome in building a town on the reserve tract, as was suggested by Mr. Redick, yet its natural beauty could not be surpassed. The surface was irregular; as a background were hills, separated by valleys. In spring and summer the landscape was clothed in a robe of vivid green. At the southern line of the South common was an abrupt descent called the Second Bank to distinguish it from Bank Lane, which ran along the Allegheny River. The Second Bank was the name by which Stockton Avenue was known for many years. Here and there were ponds, and interspersed were forest trees, and thickets. A half mile back from the river was the hill now called Monument Hill, at the time going by the name of Hogback Hill, because, as was asserted, it resembled the back of a hog. On the side facing the river the hill was covered with a dense forest. In the westerly part of the town were a succession of ponds collectively called the "swamp," over which Water Lane was laid out. The name, Water Lane, is said to have been suggested to the Supreme Executive Council because the lane ran along these ponds. Small rivulets, called runs, flowed through the territory, and had cut deep gullies along their courses. The run on which Colonel Butler had originally intended to establish his ferry came through the West common and extended northwardly almost parallel with Pasture Lane, into what was afterward called Snyder's Hollow and later Pleasant Valley. This is the valley between the Perrysville Avenue hill and the hill on which Union Dale Cemetery is located. A branch came across Federal Street and through the North common. Another run called Saw Mill Run, so named because a saw

mill was located on its bank at an early day, (16) entered the Allegheny River a short distance east of Long Lane, a street now abandoned at the river, but which north of Ohio Street is called Wettach Street. The run extended eastwardly across East Lane, now Madison Avenue, and stretched out its arm almost due north into the East Street Valley. A branch of Saw Mill Run came southwesterly from the Spring Garden Valley.

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2. Ibid, pp. 42-43.
3. H. H. BRACKENRIDGE. *Gazette Publications*, Carlisle, 1806, p. 13.
4. *Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny*, Philadelphia, 1859, p. 97.
5. WILLIAM H. EGLE. *History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1883, pp. 1126-1127.
6. *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio*, Madison, 1917, p. 362.
7. Note—In the tax duplicate of Pine Township for 1801 James Robinson was credited with owning 2 slaves, 4 horses, 6 cows, and 2 oxen.
8. Note—In the tax duplicate of Pine Township for 1804 James Robinson was assessed with a brick house, which is the first brick house appearing in any of the tax duplicates for Pine Township, as long as Allegheny Town was in that township.
9. *Fort Pitt and Letters From the Frontier*, Pittsburgh, 1892, p. 304.
10. 15 Colonial Records, p. 340.
11. 11 Pennsylvania Archives, First Series, p. 244.
12. *Journal and Letters of Col. John May of Boston*, Cincinnati, 1873, pp. 41-42.
13. Ibid, pp. 46-47.
14. Ibid, p. 47.
15. ELLIOTT E. SWIFT, D. D. *History of the First Presbyterian Church of Allegheny*, Pittsburgh, 1876, p. 6.
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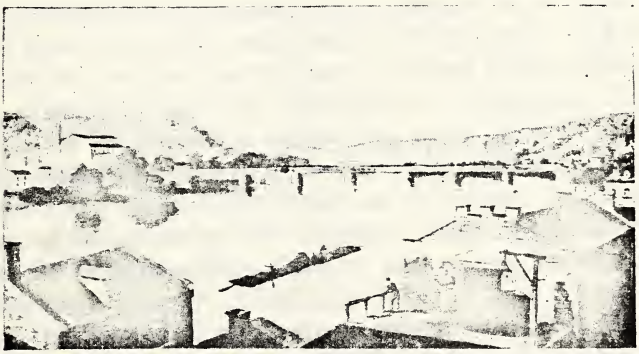
Residence of Thomas Barlow, on the Second Bank, Now Stockton Avenue.

From a picture painted by a French artist, from a sketch made by Mrs. Barlow about the year 1825 for her mother in France. The Presbyterian Meeting House and Hogback Hill, now Monument Hill, are in the distance on the left. The artist has added the cross on the church as being proper according to his conception of a house of worship. The intervening residences of Benjamin Page and the Rev. Joseph Stockton are omitted.



View of the Allegheny River Between Pittsburgh and Allegheny Town.

The Hope Cotton Mill is in the distance on the left, in Allegheny Town. Here the original acqueduct of the Pennsylvania Canal crosses to Pittsburgh.

CHAPTER III.

THE BEGINNING OF THE TOWN.

On September 24, 1788, Allegheny County was formed out of parts of Westmoreland and Washington counties; and the trustees of the new county were directed to select lots in the reserve tract for a court house and jail. A large number of former Revolutionary officers lived in Pittsburgh and other parts of Western Pennsylvania, who were holders of the depreciation certificates issued by the State for services in the Revolution, and which were receivable in payment of lots in the town. Lots in a town containing the court house and jail they argued would soon enhance in value; and when the lots were sold they were nearly all snapped up by these men. But alas for human foresight! The residents of the village across the river protested strongly against locating the county buildings in the reserve tract. The agitation kept people who might otherwise have settled on the north side of the river away from it. The original purchasers had no opportunity to sell their lots at a profit or for any price. On April 13, 1791, that portion of the Act of September 24, 1788, relating to the court house and jail, was repealed, and the trustees of the county were directed to purchase ground and erect the public buildings in Pittsburgh; and the value of the lots in the reserve tract declined still further.

The population of Allegheny, or Allegheny Town as it began to be popularly called, the word "Town" being probably added in order to give the place additional importance, must have been insignificant at this time, but there is no way of ascertaining the number. Both while the territory was in Westmoreland County and after the formation of Allegheny County, Allegheny Town was in Pitt Township, and the United States census report for 1790, the first issued, did not give the population of townships as a separate item. On the creation of Pine Township in 1796, Allegheny Town was included in that township. Pine Township comprised all the territory north of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers, west of the mouth of Pine Creek, in the present borough of Etna. The United States census for 1800 gave the population of the township as 989. Based on this report and

on the list of taxables as returned by the assessor of Pine Township for that year, the population of Allegheny Town in 1800 including the residents on the nearby out lots, would seem to have been between 250 and 300.

Roads were opened. Under the provisions of the Act of April 4, 1796, the Franklin Road was regularly laid out and named the "Road from Pittsburgh by Fort Franklin to Le Boeuf." The principal purpose of the State appears to have been to obtain a passable highway from Pittsburgh to the town of Franklin, planned by the State the year before, at the fort of that name. The road ran northerly over Federal Street, going straight up the hill, and at a point between Lafayette Avenue and Burgess Street went along the course of Perrysville Avenue, leaving that thoroughfare at Broadway, now Bonvue Street, a short distance north of the junction of Perrysville Avenue with East Street; then it took a northwesterly direction. Locally the road continued to be called the Franklin Road. Other roads entered Allegheny Town over the Franklin Road. In the fall of 1796, a road was laid out from Meadville to James Robinson's ferry, (1) and in the summer of 1797 another one from Meadville to unite with the Franklin Road at the crossing of Slippery Rock (2). In 1798 a road was planned from the forks of French Creek, to connect with the Franklin Road (3). The old Indian trail running through Allegheny Town became a leading highway to the West. After the opening of the Franklin Road the easterly terminus was changed to the southerly end of that thoroughfare at the Allegheny River. In 1799 this path was opened as a county road from Pittsburgh to Beaver, becoming a state road on April 4, 1809, by act of the legislature. As there was no money for the maintenance of the road, its condition became intolerable, and on April 14, 1827, a law was enacted which provided that all monies arising from the sale of lots in the reserve tract at the mouth of Beaver Creek, not appropriated, were to be used in repairing and improving this road. It became known as the Beaver Road, and sometimes as the Great Road from Pittsburgh to Beaver.

In the course of the next seventy-five years the location of the Beaver Road was changed a number of times, and

portions abandoned. Sometimes it was necessary to move the road, owing to the shifting of the ponds along which it ran. In places it went over private property and as the owners took possession and began fencing it in, it became advisable to move the road to some other location. In 1800 another road was opened to Beaver, which left Allegheny Town over the Franklin Road, continuing on that road for twelve miles, when it took a northwesterly course to Beaver. (4) The stage lines that were being projected to run from Pittsburgh to the West and North, went over one or the other of these roads.

The new arrivals from the East did not all remain on the south side of the Allegheny River or go farther west; some took up their habitations in the village north of the river. Also men who conducted commercial or industrial enterprises in Pittsburgh moved over to Allegheny Town, a number setting up their establishments there. New stores and taverns were opened. In 1809 the easterly portion of Pine Township including Allegheny Town, was cut off from the parent township and formed into Ross Township. It was named for former United States Senator James Ross who was living in Pittsburgh, and was a leading citizen and member of the Allegheny County bar. The next year when the United States census was taken, Ross Township had a population of 1327 and Pine Township 588. As Ross Township outside of Allegheny Town, while of great extent, consisted only of market gardens and scattered farms, it is fair to assume that the population of Allegheny Town was at least 450.

It was largely a Presbyterian community. The nearest churches were in Pittsburgh, and that place seemed much farther away then than it does now with all the conveniences of modern electric street railways. The people desired to have their religion brought closer to their homes. In a certain summer, sometime before 1812, the Rev. Joseph Stockton came from Pittsburgh and preached a sermon to the Presbyterians under the shade of a forest tree, which stood a short distance north of Ohio Street, and between Beaver, now Arch Street, and the site of the old Penitentiary.

(5) The Rev. Dr. Elliot E. Swift, for many years pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Allegheny, the successor of the first Presbyterian congregation in the village, who made this statement, gave that indefinite time, because as he relates, in 1812, when the second war with Great Britain was in progress, two thousand soldiers of the United States army intended for the northwest, camped on the ground between the Allegheny City Hall and the west wall of the Penitentiary. Before the encampment could be made, the soldiers were obliged to cut down all the forest trees which stood on the land and that, according to this historian, included the tree under which Mr. Stockton preached. Therefore the sermon must have been delivered before 1812. At intervals other ministers preached in Allegheny Town. About the year 1815 the Presbyterians erected a one-story frame meeting house on the West common, a short distance west of the easterly line. It stood close to the Second Bank which it faced. The building was painted white and attached to the church was a burying ground. With religious instructions the Presbyterians also provided secular advantages, and on week days conducted a school in connection with their church.

Manufacturing began in the village and in other portions of the reserve tract. The glass works located on the Ohio River opposite the head of Brunots Island, on out lot numbered 13, was the first industrial plant erected in Pennsylvania north or west of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers. It was situated near the mouth of Island Lane which as extended to the river is now Columbus Avenue. At this point the current of the river, which is swift and difficult of navigation, is to this day called "Glass House Riffle." The local histories credit Major Ebenezer Denny and Anthony Beelen with having established the works, and with bringing a Frenchman named LaFleur from France to construct and operate it. The Tax Duplicate of Pine Township for the year 1801 charges Doctor Hugh Scott with the taxes on the unfinished glass works. As the taxes for 1801 were no doubt based on an assessment made at least one year earlier, it is evident that the construction of the factory was begun

in 1800 or before that year, and that the founder was Doctor Scott. Major Denny and Mr. Beelen may have become interested in the glass works sometime in 1801, as on April 1 of that year, Doctor Scott was appointed postmaster of Pittsburgh, and the duties of the office may have precluded him from further conducting the affairs of the glass works. It is also possible that his financial resources were not equal to the task of completing the plant and that Denny and Beelen then took charge of the project, their store being directly across Market Street from the drug store of Doctor Scott.

John Irwin established an extensive ropewalk in 1813, his land being bounded by the West common, by the line of Grant, now Galveston Avenue, by Water Lane and by the line of Ridge Avenue. The walk itself was located on the site occupied by Lincoln, now Lynndale Avenue. Mr. Irwin's two-story white frame house faced the West common, from which it stood back about sixty feet. It was situated between Lincoln and Ridge Avenues, and was the most conspicuous residence in the western part of the village. The old ropewalk has long since disappeared. It had a national reputation, but no description is preserved. Could Longfellow have had in mind Mr. Irwin's famous establishment when he wrote the expressive lines?

"In that building long and low
With its windows all a-row
Like the port-holes of a hulk,
Human spiders spin and spin,
Backward down their threads so thin
Dropping each a hempen bulk."

A movement was begun for the erection of a bridge to connect Allegheny Town with St. Clair Street. A charter had been obtained in 1810, but too many difficulties were in the way and the charter was allowed to lapse. In 1816 a new charter was secured and the construction of the bridge commenced in 1818. It was completed in 1820, the first president being William Robinson, Jr., perhaps the wealthiest man in Allegheny Town. Being the only child of James Robinson who died in 1814, he had succeeded to his father's large estate, and with his wealth also acquired his prestige

in the community. At least three of the other directors were also residents of the village.

Education was making further advancement and the Presbyterians built on the common ground over toward where Marion Avenue, now Merchant Street, crosses under the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad, a two-story brick academy which they called the "'Allegheny Academy." Its peculiarity was the outside stairway leading to the upper story. Between the church and the academy were the tombstones and unmarked mounds of the village burying ground. To the west of the church and between the academy and Hogback Hill and running nearly at right angles with the Second Bank was a ravine forty or fifty feet deep in which flowed the run at the mouth of which was the original site of Colonel Butler's ferry. Near the upper end of Ridge Avenue and immediately west of the ravine was the log house, in which the first day-school in Allegheny Town was kept. Also in this building after the service under the forest tree, religious worship was sometimes held. (6)

The old roads were not always in a passable condition and turnpikes began to take their place. The first turnpike in Allegheny Town was the Pittsburgh and Butler Turnpike, which was incorporated on July 27, 1819. It began on Federal Street at the Allegheny River and ran northerly to Ohio Street, going east over Ohio Street and up the valley of Pine Creek to Butler and Mercer. It was completed in 1822; and toll houses appeared in Allegheny Town.

The most important event in the history of the road occurred on June 1, 1825. On Monday, May 30, (7) General Lafayette arrived in Pittsburgh with a party consisting of his son, George Washington Lafayette, his private secretary A. Levasseur, M. DeSyon and Bastian his valet, together with Governor Jeremiah Morrow of Ohio and his staff. For two days they were feted, including a ball given at Colonel Ramsey's Hotel at the southeast corner of Wood Street and Third Street, now Third Avenue, the site being today occupied by the St. Charles Hotel. Allegheny Town shared in the excitement. In 1825 it was a straggling coun-

try village, although the bustle of the embryo manufacturing city was already becoming manifest. There were only eighty-five houses within its borders, thirteen being of brick, and the others of frame. The population was 792, (8) but what the village lacked in numbers on this occasion it made up in enthusiasm.

At the northeast corner of the Second Bank and Middle Alley, now West Diamond Street, was the home of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Barlow. The Barlow's were old friends of Lafayette. Mr. Barlow was the nephew of Joel Barlow, the American diplomatist and poet, who resided in Paris during the earlier years of the French Revolution, and was a friend and admirer of Lafayette. In 1811 he was appointed United States Minister to France, and called his nephew, Thomas Barlow, from Yale College to go with him to Paris. In the autumn of 1812 the elder Barlow was invited to Vilna by Napoleon, who was on his Russian campaign, to meet him for a conference about the prospective commercial treaty between France and the United States. Thomas Barlow accompanied his uncle on the journey as private secretary. On the way to Russia, at a village in Poland, Joel Barlow sickened and died. Mrs. Barlow was the daughter of Henry Preble, and a niece of Commodore Edward Preble, of the United States navy. Her father had settled in France as an importing merchant; and both she and her husband had become intimate with Lafayette in Paris. When the eminent Frenchman appeared in Pittsburgh, Mrs. Barlow arranged a luncheon in his honor for Tuesday, May 31. Lafayette's reception at the home of the Barlows was quaintly picturesque. At the gate he was received by a dozen little girls dressed in white, wearing pink sashes, and with wreaths of roses on their heads. His salute was to stoop over each child and imprint a kiss on her forehead. Mrs. Barlow he took by both hands, and kissed her on each cheek. (9)

On Wednesday Lafayette and his party, accompanied by Harmar Denny, afterward the member of Congress from the district, and by Charles H. Israel, continued their tour. Early in the morning they left Pittsburgh on the regular stage for Erie, crossing into Allegheny Town over the St.

Clair Street bridge. He was escorted by the committee of arrangements, the city light troop under command of Captain Magnus M. Murray, later mayor of Pittsburgh, and by a battalion of volunteer citizens. Many other persons had come from Pittsburgh, and as the procession passed through the village there were more people on Federal and Ohio streets than perhaps were ever seen there before. Whenever the trumpeter sounded his bugle the people shouted their acclaim. The city light troop went as far as Butler, Mr. Denny and Mr. Israel accompanying the party to Erie. (10)

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West Common in 1832.

The Penitentiary is in the background, and the Nunnery on the hill to the right.—From *Maximilian Prince of Wied's Travels in North America.*

CHAPTER IV.

THE BOROUGH.

The new bridge and the increasing number of industries caused the village to grow still more rapidly in the next decade. The Pittsburgh and Beaver Turnpike was incorporated on March 29, 1819, but owing probably to the improvements made on the state road to Beaver, the projectors of the turnpike did not consider it advisable to complete their organization. It was not until the passage of the act of April 11, 1835, that letters patent were issued. This road followed the course of the Pittsburgh and Beaver Road. More toll houses were erected in Allegheny Town. Additional stage lines crossed the bridge from Pittsburgh, and the sound of the stage driver's horn and the crack of his whip became more familiar than ever in the streets of the village.

Important public institutions were erected in the reserve tract. On January 8, 1821, the city of Pittsburgh purchased from the estate of James O'Hara, out lot numbered 256, containing ten acres, on which it established an almshouse. The land fronted on Ohio Lane, now Pennsylvania Avenue, and was bounded on the east by the line of Allegheny Avenue, on the north by the line of Franklin street and on the west by that of Sedgwick Street; Bidwell Street now divides the out lot into two equal parts. During the years 1821 and 1822, the almshouse was erected. It was a large two-story frame structure, and faced Ohio Lane, standing across Bidwell Street, and on the northerly line of Liverpool Street, which crosses in the middle of the tract. The burial ground was on the westerly portion of the land. In the latter part of 1848 the inmates were removed to Pittsburgh's new almshouse situated on the south side of the Monongahela River in Mifflin Township, the buildings were torn down, and the grounds laid out into building lots and sold. (1)

The Duke of Saxe Weimar Eisenach passed through Allegheny Town on May 17, 1826. He described the St. Clair Street bridge and gave his impressions of the village as well

as predicting its future prospects. "We reached the Allegheny bridge which is built of wood, roofed, and supported by five piers. The foot-walks are separated from the wagon-road, and are open at the sides, so that foot passengers are not incommoded by the dust from the inside of the bridge. On the opposite side is a little village called Allegheny Town, laid out upon a great scale, but on account of the proximity of Pittsburgh, it will with difficulty attain any importance. On the heights stand elegant country houses." (2)

More industries were established. In 1827 the Juniata Rolling Mill was built on the Allegheny River, along the westerly side of Darragh, now Dasher Street. In 1828 Blackstock, Bell and Company erected the Pittsburgh Cotton Factory on the west side of Federal Street between Robinson and Lacock Streets. On April 14, of that year, the town was incorporated as a borough, but continued to be called Allegheny Town. The borough did not include more than about one third of the reserve tract. Its easterly line was East Lane, the northerly limit was a short distance north of Carroll now Carrington Street, then the line ran down Pasture Lane to Water Lane, along Water Lane to Ferry Lane, and down Ferry Lane to the Ohio River. The Ohio and Allegheny Rivers were the southerly boundary of the borough. Robert Campbell conducted an inn on the west side of Federal Street a short distance north of Water Alley, now Park Way, the ground being part of the land covered by Boggs and Buhl's store. In his house on May 10, 1828, the election for the borough officers was held, and here on Friday, May 16, 1828, the borough council was organized.

The Presbyterians being in a majority, it was natural that they should obtain control of the new municipal government. John Irwin, the burgess, James Brown, the president of the council, and of the councilmen, Robert Stewart, Richard Gray and Foster Graham were members of the little church on the West common. Hugh Davis, the treasurer, and Thomas Sample, the assessor and street commissioner, were likewise members. The other councilmen were Isaac Lightner, William Savory, William Lecky, John Meas-

on and Robert Campbell. In 1830 when the census was taken, being the first census in which the name of the village appeared, it was given as the "Borough of Allegheny Town." The population was 2801, being three and a half times what it was in 1825; the increase was particularly large during the last half of the decade. But what seems remarkable in this report at the present day, is the fact that at this time there were in Allegheny Town eight slaves.

In the summer of 1829, the Pennsylvania Canal was completed from Leechburg to Allegheny Town. Many new people settled within its limits; a number of additional manufacturing concerns came into existence. The council went vigorously to work, and on December 7, 1829, an ordinance was enacted for the erection of a market house; and the first loan made by the borough was for five hundred dollars, to be used in paying for the building. It was located on the east side of Federal Street, a short distance south of Ohio Street. It was a wooden structure one story in height with an opening at either end; and it was open on both sides. At the meeting which decided to erect the market house, a committee was appointed to purchase a fire engine, and early the next year two small hand engines built to operate together, with hose carriage attached, were purchased. They were called "Columbus" and "Hope," names dear to the firemen of the day, and auspicious in their eyes of the successful accomplishment of the tasks for which the engines were designed. An engine house was erected at the southeast corner of Federal and Ohio streets, adjoining the market house. Steps were taken to prevent domestic animals from running at large in the borough. Many families owned hogs which were permitted to roam at will through the streets, and an ordinance was enacted prohibiting the nuisance; the cattle which browsed on the herbage of the common ground, were generally in charge of boys or perhaps girls. Few matters were too trivial for the borough officials to consider, when the general welfare was concerned. On January 21, 1831, John Irwin came before council and informed that body that a mad dog had passed through the

town a few days before, and on its way had bitten a number of persons; that therefore it became the duty of the corporate authority to immediately adopt measures of public safety; and council then and there enacted an ordinance relating to mad dogs.

A wrong impression seemed to prevail in regard to the uses for which the common ground was intended, which caused an endless amount of controversy. Common of pasturage, as provided for in the Act of September 11, 1787, was the right of the owners of the town lots to graze their cattle on the common ground. The right of common was a distinct departure in Pennsylvania legislation; in England it was an ordinary incident in titles to land, but on this side of the Atlantic Ocean there were few instances of the adoption of principle. Until the passage of this act, common of pasturage was unknown in Pennsylvania. The State was attempting to inaugurate a species of communism which was impracticable except in districts that would remain permanently rural; and the Supreme Court early recognized this fact. As far back as 1824, Chief Justice Tilghman, speaking of this right of common, with the extended vision for which he was noted, questioned the sufficiency of the common ground fifty years thence, when Allegheny Town might be a populous city. (3) Piece by piece the common ground was diverted from the original uses and given or taken into the hands of private or semi-private institutions. The legislature assisted materially in this species of robbery. On March 3, 1818, it granted ten acres to the State, as the site for a penitentiary. The building was erected on the easterly line of the West common, two or three hundred feet north of Ohio Street. It was an imposing structure, and was built of gray sandstone in the Norman style, with circular towers at each end of the facade and great walls enclosing an open interior. On July 1, 1826, a portion of the building and the cells were completed and delivered to the Inspectors, the first prisoner being received on July 22 of that year; and on November 27, 1827, the entire work was finished. Later the structure was enlarged; and there the prison frowned on the surrounding landscape until 1886,

when the Riverside Penitentiary was ready for occupancy, and the old building was torn down.

Maximilian Prince of Wied, on his way from Pittsburgh to Economy, on September 29, 1832, drove through the village. On his way he passed the Penitentiary and spoke of its "attractive architecture." Another building interested him. On the height to the right of the town he related, was the "so called nunnery, a monastery founded by Flemish nuns who conduct an educational institution in which children of every religious persuasion are admitted." (4) In reality it was a boarding school for young ladies and girls, and was called "St. Clare's Young Ladies' Academy." It was located on the shoulder of the hill east of the head of Federal Street, where that thoroughfare connects with Perrysville Avenue. The grounds contained sixty acres, and the building, a long gray frame structure, protruded out of a grove of forest trees. It consisted of three parts of different heights built together, the highest portion being surmounted by a cupola; it was the most notable object on any of the hills overlooking the town. The convent was founded in 1828 by nuns belonging to the Order of St. Clare, called the gray nuns, from the habit which they wore. They named their hill Mount Alvernio, but from the advent of the nuns, the people of Allegheny Town called it Nunnery Hill, the name clinging to it to this day. At one time the convent contained as high as fourteen nuns. Owing to a controversy which the nuns had with Bishop Rese' of Detroit, the ecclesiastical superior of the order in this country, they were ejected from the property on May 17, 1835, and thereafter it was sold (5), but the building remained unaltered for many years afterward. The ground occupied by the convent and about one fourth of the land by which it was surrounded, was long owned by Colonel James Andrews, the associate of Captain James B. Eads in the construction of the great St. Louis bridge over the Mississippi River, and the New Orleans jetties; his widow still resides there. The imposing Andrews mansion stands on the site of the convent and is said to retain some of the chimneys of the old nunnery.

On February 18, 1819, forty acres of the common ground was granted to the Western University of Pennsylvania, for a university. At a public meeting held in the village on November 11, 1825, residents, lot holders and land owners to the number of thirty-one, granted their right in a portion of the West common to the Presbyterian Church of the United States for the establishment of a theological seminary. A large majority of the signers to the paper which resulted from the meeting were Presbyterians. In 1825 the erection of the Western Theological Seminary was begun on Hogback Hill. The action of the lot and land owners was on April 17, 1827, ratified by the legislature; and the buildings were completed in 1831. The seminary was a distinct addition to the architecture of Allegheny Town; the buildings were destroyed by fire in 1854, but were rebuilt the same year at the base of the hill, facing the West common.

Many individuals followed in the footsteps of the public institutions and dotted the public ground with their habitations; a dwelling house was even built on the southwest public square (6). The Presbyterian congregation caused the borough authorities much anxiety. On December 1, 1828, the church had procured from the council of which the Presbyterians were the controlling element, the adoption of a resolution giving it authority over the ground occupied by the church and burying-ground. The Meeting House became too small; the shingles were dilapidated and the weather-boarding warped, and in 1831 it was determined to erect a new building. Again it was designed to build on the common ground, and work on the new church was commenced.

But the religious complexion of the borough was changing. People belonging to other than the Presbyterian church were crowding into the place. In 1828 the Methodists had become strong enough to form a congregation, and two years later erected a small frame church on Beaver Street which became the Beaver Street Methodist Episcopal Church, and is now the Arch Street Methodist Episcopal Church. The Episcopalians organized Christ Protestant Episcopal Church in 1830; there were a considerable number of ad-

herents of the Associate Church; there were also Reformed Presbyterians. Germans and Swiss Germans of the Protestant Evangelical religion had overrun the eastern end of the borough, and among the newer immigrants were many Roman Catholics. These elements looked with a jealous eye on the occupation of the common ground by the Presbyterians. Council was not only urged to proceed against the Presbyterians, but to stop all other infringements of the public rights. The members of council wavered between fear of the Presbyterians on one side, and of the non-Presbyterians on the other.

In the meantime the construction of the new church went on. Public sentiment would not brook further delay; the council was ignored, and the citizens themselves commenced legal proceedings to restrain the continuance of the work. When William Montgomery, one of the objecting parties, served the workmen employed on the building with the official notice of the suit, he invited them to drink with him at a nearby tavern, probably as related by Dr. Swift (7) "with the intention of indicating to them that there was nothing personal in the proceeding." John Hannan was an experienced contractor, having been one of the contractors in the construction of the Penitentiary, and its first warden, holding that position from 1826 to 1829. Although a member of the borough council, he was also a ruling elder of the congregation, and was present on the ground directing the work on the church. He was a man of positive character and according to Dr. Swift, negatived Montgomery's proposal in no uncertain terms. Dr. Swift failed to report the observations of the workmen at being deprived of the indicated refreshment. The congregation finally surrendered and discontinued their building operations; and the borough resumed control of the land occupied by the church. A fence of planed boards, six feet high and painted white, was erected around the town burying ground. The entrance was on the south side where the gate was placed; and the dead were again protected from vandal feet and vandal hands.

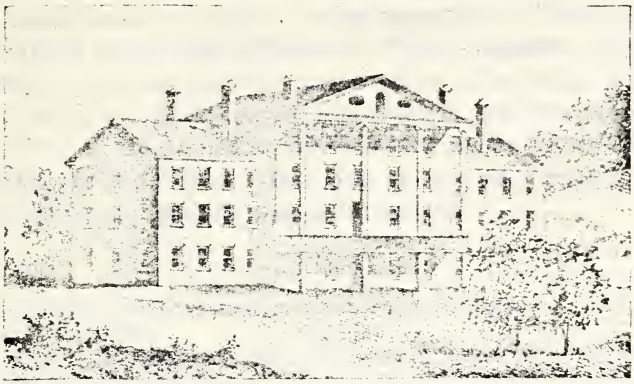
On November 14, 1832, the council appointed a committee to wait upon the trustees of the Allegheny Academy

and ascertain whether the borough could buy the interest of the stockholders, and to find out the terms on which they would sell. The private occupants of the common ground were proceeded against, the street commissioner being instructed to notify them to remove the houses which they had erected there. Some were ordered to comply immediately, others were given a period of grace. Those whose houses projected over the streets on which the buildings fronted were directed to take away the incumbrances. The Presbyterians who were now worshipping in their new church on Beaver Street, but had allowed their old building to remain on the common ground, were given until April 15 to obey the order of the council. The time for the removal of Allegheny Academy was extended until April 1, 1836. However, by an arrangement between the borough and the academy, the building was taken over by the borough and became Allegheny's first high school.

With the grant to the Penitentiary no question was ever raised, except in regard to the four acres lying outside of the west wall, which were taken possession of by the borough in 1838, without resistance from the prison authorities, and again became part of the common ground. On March 18, 1840, a law was enacted revesting this land to the original uses; and by virtue of the Act of June 22, 1883, the ground on which the Penitentiary itself stood was vested in Allegheny City for park purposes, upon the removal of the Penitentiary. The claim of the Western University was declared invalid by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in 1824. (8) The Theological Seminary after engaging in litigation, made a compromise, and in 1849 conveyed its rights to the city in all the land granted it, except to about four acres.

In 1832 the Asiatic cholera appeared in Pittsburgh and in a number of towns within a radius of a hundred miles of the city. It was alleged to have been brought to Pittsburgh by a negro from Cincinnati. Allegheny Town become panic-stricken. On June 30 a board of health was created, and each householder was notified of the necessity of using every precaution to ward off the dread disease. In conjunction

Western Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church.



Seminary on Hogback Hill, now Monument Hill, 1831-1854.

Seminary on West Park, now Ridge Avenue, in 1857; replaced by the present structure in 1915. Professors' houses on the right and the left, still standing.

with Pittsburgh, tents were procured in which to isolate those who should be attacked, and arrangements were made for placing sentinels about the tents in order to prevent any one from entering or leaving. On October 25, 1832, several additional cases of cholera were reported in Pittsburgh, and in a short time twenty persons, chiefly negroes, died of the malady. A hospital was proposed in Allegheny Town, but by November 14, the scare had abated, and the scheme was abandoned. In January, 1833, terror again seized the town, and the hospital was built; but it was never used, as soon afterward the cholera was stamped out.

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CHAPTER V.

THE CITY.

More attention was devoted to public improvements, and on July 16, 1833, the council appropriated the sum of thirty-five hundred dollars for the purpose. The items in the appropriation serve to fairly indicate the necessities of the borough. Included was money for a hay scale and weigh-house; for a house for fire apparatus; for a fire engine and additional hose; for a permanent bridge over the gully which crossed the common ground at Ohio Street west of the Penitentiary; for the grading of Craig Street; for filling in Sandusky Street south of the town lots; for grading the West Bank, as the Second Bank west of Federal Street was called; for filling up Bank Lane from Federal Street to Craig Street, and for the completion of the grading of the East common.

The "house for fire apparatus," or engine house, turned out to be the most important of the contemplated public works. The views of the councilmen were ever becoming broader, and at the meeting held on July 30, it was decided that the engine house should be two-stories in height, in order to admit of two rooms on the second floor, one to serve as a council room, and the other for the use of the fire companies. On August 7, the contract was awarded to John Hamilton for the sum of nine hundred dollars. The structure was finished on January 2, 1834, and taken off the contractor's hands. It was built of brick with a cupola, and was located on the southwest public square, a few feet south of Ohio Street and a short distance back from the line of Federal Street with the front facing that thoroughfare. The first story was divided into two rooms, of nearly equal size, with an entrance between them, where the stairway leading to the upper story was located. On completion the building was designated the "Town House."

Until this time the meetings of the council had been held in the Federal Street tavern, although the ownership had changed twice since 1828. Robert Campbell had been succeeded by John Bell, and he by William Lightner. The council room in the tavern was given up, and thenceforth the

council held its meetings in the Town House, and for thirty years this was the seat of power from which were directed the affairs of the municipality. Thomas Griffiths was employed to take charge of the building. His duties were to attend the meetings of council, sweep the council room, keep the engine and hose apparatus in order and ring the bell which it was intended to provide. Another of his duties was to light the candles in the council room. His salary was fifty dollars a year. Regulations for the use of the Town House were made. The council room was in the north end of the building; the other room on the second floor was fitted up for the fire companies. Neither room was to be used for purposes other than those designated without special leave of the council, except for meetings of a general public character called by the burgess. In 1835, the bell was purchased and hung in the cupola. During this year the old engine house at the southeast corner of Federal and Ohio Streets was abandoned and sold at public auction for $39.25.

The borough was still progressing. Instead of buying a fire engine of the type of the Columbus and Hope, the council decided to use the appropriation made for a fire engine, in purchasing one that was larger and more powerful. Such an engine was bought in October, 1833, and in order that it might be accommodated in the Town House, certain necessary alterations were made in the building. The new engine was christened the Phoenix, after the Phoenix Engine and Hose Company of Philadelphia from which it was purchased. In 1836, during the administration of President Jackson, the borough took another step forward, and a post office was established. It was located on West Diamond Street between Ohio Street and Gay Alley, now South Diamond Street. The first postmaster was Dr. E. Henderson, who was prominent both as a physician and as a volunteer fireman. He died soon after his appointment, and was succeeded by his widow.

The canal, including the Portage Railroad over the Allegheny Mountains, was completed from Columbia to Allegheny Town in 1834, and March 24 of that year, the first canal boat to cross the mountains reached the borough. The canal entered the eastern end of the town, and was located

between what is now North and South Canal streets, the ground being covered by the roadbed of the West Penn Railroad. The tow-path was on the northerly side of the canal, and at Federal Street where a bridge crossed the canal, it was twelve feet below the grade of that thoroughfare. From Federal Street the canal continued westwardly on a line nearly parallel with and immediately south of where the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad is located, to a point between Darragh Street and Craig, now Cremo Street. Here it entered a basin wider than the canal, which extended at right angles with the canal to the Allegheny River. This was the rendezvous of the boats whose traffic was mainly with Allegheny Town. At the basin their cargoes were loaded and unloaded, and in this water they laid over from one voyage to the other, and for repairs. Fronting on the basin were warehouses where the goods coming in were stored for delivery, and where the articles to be shipped were housed, until boats came to take them away. On the streets facing the canal, warehouses and stores sprang up, and taverns in increasing numbers were opened for the accommodation of the traveling as well as the non-traveling public. Although the boats had regularly appointed stopping places, goods were received and unloaded at almost any point along the line; and in summer when fruits and vegetables were brought into the town, there was a regular market for their sale nearly the entire length of the canal.

A short distance west of East Lane the main line of the canal branched off at right angles, running to the river which it crossed into Pittsburgh on an acqueduct located two or three hundred feet east of the present railroad bridge. The acqueduct has been succinctly described by one who saw it in August, 1835 (1) as "an enormous wooden trough with a roof, hanging from seven arches of timber, supported by six stone piers and two abutments." In 1843, one of the piers gave way and the structure was abandoned. The next year, however, work on a new acqueduct was commenced, which was completed in May, 1845. It was of wire suspension construction with a wooden trunk and was open at the top (2).

Additional industries were introduced. The paper mill of Hind and Howard on the Ohio River, began operations in 1832. A cotton mill was established on Sandusky Street in the same year, and another on Main Street in 1836. More town lots were subdivided; more out lots were laid off into plans of building lots. Lots were sold or leased for long terms. Interspersed with the one and two-story frame houses were more houses built of brick. With increase in numbers those religious associations which had no places of worship of their own, procured them; additional churches were organized. The Associate Church erected its building in 1831. It is now the First United Presbyterian Church. The Germans and the Swiss Germans of the Protestant Evangelical faith organized a church in 1833, and in the same year erected a one-story brick building on the upper end of Ohio Street. Because the Voegtly family donated the land on which the church and burying ground were located, and were among the first and leading members, this church has ever since been known as Voegtly's Church. In 1833 the Reformed Presbyterians formed a church, and three years later erected a building at the corner of Lacock and Sandusky streets. The Baptists organized what is now the First Baptist Church in 1835 and held their first services in the Allegheny Academy. In 1835 the Disciples of Christ began worshipping in a one-story building located on the Allegheny River below Federal Street. This is today the First Christian Church. Newspapers were established. In 1832 there existed the *Allegheny and Pittsburgh Republican*, but whether it was published in Allegheny Town or in Pittsburgh, is not certain, although the fact that the municipal advertising was done in this paper, might lead to the conclusion that it appeared on the north side of the river. In 1835 the *Allegheny Transcript* began its brief career. Victor Scriba removed the weekly German paper which he published at Chambersburg in this State to Allegheny Town in 1837. It was called the *Freiheits Freund, Friend of Liberty*; the office was located on Main Street, and two years later was taken a short distance up this street to the corner of Chestnut. In 1844 or 1845 the paper was transferred to

Pittsburgh, where as a daily newspaper it has continued to exist until the present time. In 1838 the *Western Emporium* began to be published.

Additional public works were undertaken; streets were graded and gravelled, some only guttered. Sewers were built. Bridges were constructed over the canal at all the leading streets, Chestnut Street, East Lane, Cedar now Anderson Street, Federal Street, and at Robinson now General Robinson Street. All the bridges were of wood, except the one at Federal Street, which, although now of stone, had originally been of wood. The runs where they crossed the main streets were also bridged.

On April 14, 1838, the borough was enlarged; the easterly line being extended to Saw Mill Run, and the northerly limit to Island Lane, including the territory westwardly to Fulton Street. This decade was the golden age of Allegheny Town and in 1840 the population rose to 10,089. A city government was desired, and on April 13, an act was passed by the legislature advancing the borough into a city. Allegheny Town became Allegheny City, and it remained Allegheny City until in comparatively recent times. William Robinson, Jr., was the first mayor.

With its advance in rank, a yearning for broader culture developed. In 1841 the Allegheny Literary Society was organized for the purpose of furthering this end. At least one of the productions read before this association had merit of a high order, and met with the appreciation which it deserved, and has lived to this day. It was a poem by William H. Burleigh, at the time a law student in the office of Hampton and Miller, who, in 1837, as a young man of twenty-five had come from Connecticut to edit the *Christian Witness*, the Pittsburgh organ of the Western Pennsylvania Anti-slavery Society. At this time, in addition to studying law, he was editor of the *Washington Banner*, established by the recently organized Washingtonian Temperance Society, branches of which had quickly sprung up all over the country. The poem was entitled "Our Country," the theme being as the sub-title indicated, the country's dangers and destiny. It was a glorification of righteousness and a denun-

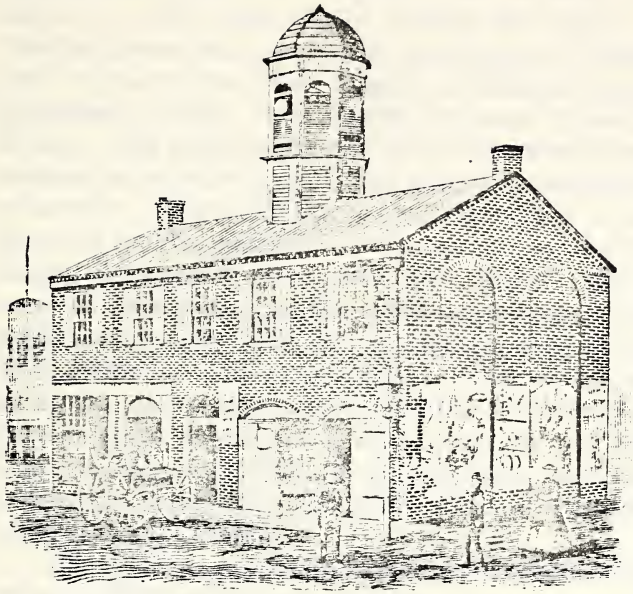
ciation of wrong, expressed with the fierce vigor of young manhood, and was first published in Allegheny City by the society of which Mr. Burleigh was the most brilliant member. The reception of the poem was the more cordial as the author had just published in Philadelphia a collection of his poems, which also bore a Pittsburgh imprint. The Anti-slavery poems in this volume rank with the Anti-slavery poetry of Whittier and Longfellow. Allibone in his *Dictionary of Authors*, speaking of two of the poems, "She Hath Gone in the Springtime of Life," and "June," said they were among the best effusions of the American muse. Mr. Burleigh was as famous as an Anti-slavery orator, as he was as poet. Another poet living and writing in Allegheny City was Charles B. Shiras. His volume entitled, *The Redemption of Labor*, is still worth reading. Also there existed in Robinson's Row on Federal Street, a firm of publishers, Kennedy and Brother. Their best known publications were a reprint of James McHenry's *The Wilderness; or Braddock's Times*, a work of local interest, which was quite popular sixty or seventy years ago, and the *Life of Rev. Elisha Macurdy*, a pioneer Presbyterian preacher of Washington County in the early years of the nineteenth century. They also gave Allegheny City its first daily newspaper, *The Allegheny Morning Express*, which appeared in 1843.

The population continued to increase. More immigrants poured into the city. Irish from the north of the Emerald Isle came in plenty as also some from the south. The Germans however, predominated. They settled mainly in the eastern portion of the city, and soon the district east of Cedar Avenue, became known to the English speaking population as "Dutch Town." The Germans had become so numerous and influential that on July 9, 1840, at their own request, they were given charge of the Phoenix fire engine. The district comprised between the canal and the Allegheny River, and extending from Chestnut Street to a short distance west of East Lane, was largely populated by Germans from Switzerland, and because the ground was low, it was called by the other Germans *Schweizer Loch*, which politely

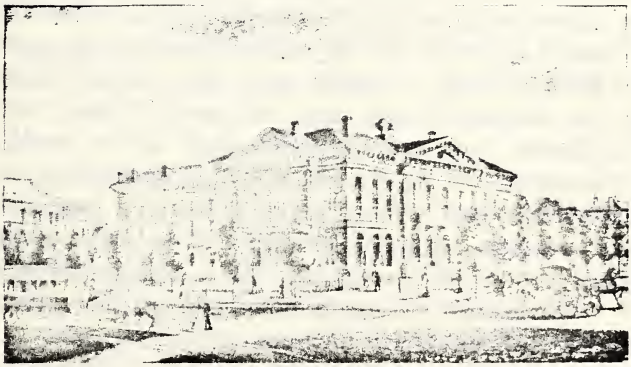
translated, means Swiss bottom, but put more crudely is Swiss Hole. Perhaps it was in the latter sense that the expression was oftenest used. The Germans lived in a little world of their own. They had their own churches, their own societies, their own amusements. On Sunday afternoons in summer they enjoyed themselves with their families in the beer gardens out on the Pittsburgh and Butler Turnpike, in the adjoining borough of Duquesne. Their church, society and other picnics were held in the groves on Troy Hill in that borough.

More bridges were built over the Allegheny River. Charters were obtained in 1836 for a bridge to connect Mechanics, now Sixteenth Street in Pittsburgh, with Chestnut Street, and for a bridge from Hand, now Ninth Street in Pittsburgh, to Cedar Street. Both bridges were begun in 1837; the Mechanics Street bridge was completed in the summer of 1838, the Hand Street bridge being finished and opened on May 29, 1840. The market house and its surroundings had been changed at different times since 1829. The lines of the streets and alleys surrounding the public squares were in no way marked on the ground, but the squares appeared as one plot, broken only by the Town House and market house. Pedestrians, wagons, and drays crossed at random. Footpaths and wheel ruts extended in all directions. To indicate the location of the streets and alleys, and to prevent injury to the squares, council on December 5, 1833, ordered the erection of posts along the lines of all the thoroughfares. On June 8, 1837, one hundred feet were added to the southerly end of the market house, bringing the building close to Gay Alley.

The market facilities still failed to keep pace with the increasing population, and in 1840 the entire southeast public square was set apart and declared a market place, and new regulations were adopted for the conduct of the markets. The market house continuing inadequate, in 1844 an additional one was authorized. For this purpose Federal and Ohio streets where they run through the four public squares, were widened to one hundred and twenty feet. The width of the alleys surrounding the squares were increased



Town House, 1834-1864.



City Hall in 1876.

to sixty feet. Sidewalks twelve feet in width were established on both sides of the streets and alleys. The new market house was erected in the center of Federal Street, and extended the entire length of Federal Street between Strawberry Alley, now North Diamond Street, and Ohio Street. The added parts of the streets surrounding the new market house were opened, and graded to conform to the older portion. The building was constructed of wood, was one story in height, and had a wide projecting roof, the gables facing Strawberry Alley and Ohio Street. The entrances were at both ends; and the sides were open. The roof was supported by round wooden columns. The butchers' stalls were inside; outside were benches, those on the easterly side being for market gardeners disposing of the produce of their farms; those on the west were given up to hucksters and others selling marketing at second hand; the roof afforded protection from rain. Along the curb of the sidewalks the wagons were parked.

Professor Leonard H. Eaton, spent a long life as an educator in Pittsburgh and Allegheny City. As early as 1840 he was instructor in the Western University, now the University of Pittsburgh. From 1851 to 1860 he was principal of the Third Ward Public School in Allegheny City, and afterward, for thirty years principal of the Forbes School in Pittsburgh. He was also for more than twenty years president and superintendent of the Western Pennsylvania Humane Society and was withal a man of wide observation. For thirty years he was superintendent of the Sunday School of the First Baptist Church of Allegheny City, and on January 6, 1878, on the eve of his retirement from that position, he read a paper giving his recollections of Allegheny City as it appeared when he assumed the duties of superintendent. His reminiscences have a touch of sentiment. Of the old Town House he related: (3)

"In the cupola hung an unpretending bell. I can seem even now to hear its somewhat monotonous tones, as pulled by Mr. Husselbaugh, it summoned us morning and afternoon to our various schools in the four wards; as it rang for meetings of council, or on Wednesday evenings for prayer

meetings, or three times on Sabbath to the various church services.

"The houses around the Diamond were almost entirely dwellings and were mostly of frame. From the Diamond to Montgomery Avenue the buildings with few exceptions, were frame dwellings. Above North Avenue dwellings and vacant lots prevailed. In the Second ward from Webster Street (now Sherman Avenue) westward unbroken fields extended. Through a portion of this district streets were laid out immediately after our victory in Mexico, and thus we have the names of Palo Alto, Resaca, Monterey, Buena Vista, etc. The most costly residences were on the Second Bank, and this was the fashionable locality. Others with abundant means, who desired to be out of town and quiet, chose Water Lane. This street had few residences, but they were fine ones with large and well kept gardens. In the Third Ward were Davis' garden and the farm of Jacob Dellenbach. The hills surrounding the city were then partially covered with trees and used for pasturage. Between the built up part of the city and the borough of Manchester in the west, there was a large tract of unoccupied ground. The only bank in the city was the Allegheny Savings Bank."

At the time this institution was named the Allegheny Saving Fund Company, but was popularly called the Allegheny Saving Fund Bank or the Allegheny Savings Bank. It was organized as a partnership in 1845, and incorporated on April 21, 1849, with an authorized capital stock of one hundred thousand dollars. Until 1850 it was located on the east side of Federal Street between the South common and the canal, but was removed in that year to a building which had been purchased on the other side of Federal Street, between the South common and Water Alley. Here it was reorganized as the Allegheny Savings Bank in June, 1857. The location is now numbered 413 Federal Street; and the site is still devoted to banking, being occupied by the granite banking house of the Allegheny Trust Company.

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1. Peregrine Prolix. *A Pleasant Vacation Through the Prettiest Parts of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1836, p. 107.
2. *Olden Time*, Pittsburgh, 1846, Vol. I, pp. 45-48.
3. *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette*, January 7, 1878.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ADVANCE CONTINUES.

The city was in dire straits for money, and the councils decided to sell part of the public squares in order to obtain the needed funds. On June 21, 1849, forty lots in the Diamond, all fronting on Federal Street were laid out for sale. Twenty-five were actually sold when it was decided on August 4, 1849, by the District Court of Allegheny County, that the city had no authority to sell the public grounds for private purposes; and the sales were void. This decision was afterward affirmed by the Supreme Court of the State. (1)

Intercourse with the rural districts was made easier. The ordinary turnpikes chartered in the earlier days of the municipality had proven unsatisfactory; little money or effort were expended on their construction or maintenance, and in bad weather they became in places impassable. The era of plank roads began. Plank roads were distinctive to the United States, and were becoming common wherever lumber was cheap. They are still of so recent a date, that a detailed description would be superfluous. They were constructed by laying parallel rows of timbers longitudinally along the road, on which planks were placed crosswise. The Allegheny and Perrysville Plank Road incorporated on February 27, 1849, was seven miles in length and began at the north end of Federal Street, and wound around the hill west of that street, following the course of Perrysville Avenue, and ran northerly toward the borough of Erie. On April 5, 1849, the Allegheny and Butler Plank Road was incorporated to go to the town of Butler. It ran easterly on Ohio Street; the first toll house was located in the borough of Duquesne. The Allegheny and Manchester Plank Road was incorporated on May 6, 1850, and began at the intersection of Federal and Ohio street, and extended along Ohio Street westerly and across the West common to Water Lane, thence to Beaver Street, now Beaver Avenue in the borough of Manchester, and along the Beaver Road to Woods Run. The Beaver Road where it connected with Beaver Street was moved when the Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad was constructed, and ran down Strawberry

Lane a short distance, and then went at right angles with Strawberry Lane; this portion of the road is now called Preble Avenue. Allegheny councils fixed the terminus of the plank road in the city, at Ohio and Webster streets, and prohibited the erection of toll houses within its limits. The city paid the company one hundred and fifty dollars a year for keeping in repair the streets in the city over which it ran. This arrangement not proving satisfactory to the plank road company, it procured the passage of an act of assembly on March 23, 1854, authorizing the surrender of so much of the road as lay within the city, and was thereby released from responsibility for its maintenance. The Allegheny and New Brighton Plank Road ran from Allegheny City to New Brighton, and was incorporated on March 25, 1854. It began at Island Lane, and ran northwesterly following the course of the present Brighton Road. Near Island Avenue a toll house was placed. The road resulted largely from the changes made in the location of the Beaver Road by the construction of the Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad.

Stages ran over these roads to the neighboring towns and villages, a majority of them for only brief periods, when they were discontinued. The most famous of all was the omnibus line conducted by Mrs. Hartman, familiarly known as Mary Hartman, the widow of Henry Hartman. It commenced in Pittsburgh in front of the St. Clair Hotel, at the southeast corner of Penn and St. Clair streets, the site being occupied today by the Hotel Anderson. Thence it ran over the St. Clair Street bridge and up Federal Street to Ohio Street, and followed the line of the Allegheny and Manchester Plank Road through Manchester to Mrs. Hartman's tavern on the east side of the Beaver Road, in Reserve Township, a short distance south of where Preble Avenue intersects McClure Avenue. The inn was surrounded by five or six acres of land abundantly supplied with trees and shrubbery. The ride to the tavern was always delightful; along the lower end of Water Lane the ponds glistened through the trees and bushes; to the west of the Beaver Road the Ohio shimmered in the sunlight. In summer, Mrs.

Hartman's guests sat under the grape arbors or the trees, and sipped her home-made wine, or partook of such other refreshments as their appetites craved; in winter she supplied sleighs to her patrons, and many a jolly party went to her cheerful rooms and danced the nights away. The Pittsburgh, Allegheny and Manchester Passenger Railway Company purchased Mrs. Hartman's omnibus line when the construction of the railway was commenced in the latter part of 1859. The ground on which the old inn stood is still occupied by a tavern.

Although the St. Clair Street bridge had been lighted with gas since December, 1837, the gas being supplied from Pittsburgh by the Pittsburgh Gas Company, Allegheny City was still in physical, if not moral darkness. The people were beginning to tire of staggering over the rough streets on moonless nights, even though they carried lanterns. In November, 1851, they took steps to organize a gas company. On March 18, 1852, certain citizens procured the incorporation of the Allegheny Gas Company which was authorized to do practically everything necessary in the conduct of its business without the consent of the city. The gas manufacturing plant was located at the northwest corner of Water Lane and the West common, and the next year the company began business.

Prior to 1849, the only supply of water for drinking purposes was from pumps and wells. The question of establishing a municipal water works had been agitated as far back as 1837, and the borough council had appointed a committee on machinery for a water works. It also appointed a committee to make an estimate of the expense of procuring the necessary machinery, and to suggest a site and report on the probable income that might be derived from a plant operated by the municipality. Here the matter was allowed to rest for ten years. For many years, both before and after 1837, from forty to fifty men, each pushing a cart, made their daily rounds supplying the citizens with water for laundry and household purposes. The water-carriers became a distinct class and the occupation was of some profit to them. But the people desired some-

thing better than having water brought to them in barrels, and notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the water-carriers, they clamored for a municipal water works, and on June 3, 1847, the city entered into a contract for the purchase of a site in the borough of Duquesne. The water works was completed in 1849, and water furnished the city; and the councils enacted an ordinance regulating the affairs of the water works, and the distribution of water.

The Presbyterians had removed their dead from the common ground in 1833, when they purchased land on the south side of Juniata Street between Bidwell and Sedgwick streets, and extending back to Franklin Street where it abutted on the property of the Pittsburgh Almshouse. The high board fence by which the tract was surrounded, made it a prominent object in the vicinity for many years. (2) Voegtly's Evangelical Protestant Church, and Christ Protestant Episcopal Church had burying grounds around their churches. The necessity for public cemeteries had long been recognized, and the First Associate Reformed Church purchased ten acres of land a few hundred feet north of Island Lane in Reserve Township, for use as a cemetery by members of that congregation, and by such others as might wish to bury there. It procured a charter under the name of Mount Union Cemetery on April 14, 1846. The entrance was from the head of Sedgwick Street. On April 22, 1857, Hilldale Cemetery was incorporated, and a cemetery established on the northeasterly side of the Allegheny and New Brighton Road, and opposite the Mount Union Cemetery. After the opening of the two public cemeteries, the Presbyterians abandoned the cemetery on Juniata Street, and began burying their dead in Mount Union and Hilldale cemeteries; and on March 18, 1863, they procured the passage of an act of assembly permitting them to remove the bodies from their old cemetery. On April 2, 1869, by virtue of an act of assembly of that date, Mount Union and Hilldale cemeteries were consolidated, under the name of Union Dale Cemetery.

The railroad age dawned; the first locomotive to be placed in active service in the United States was in 1829. In the next few years the people went wild over the new mode of transportation. They embarked in the new enterprise with such vigor, that in 1836, two hundred companies had been organized and more than a thousand miles of railroads were opened in eleven states. Every inland city or town of consequence solicited charters for railroads to connect them with some other city or town. Villages and cross-roads were almost equally clamorous. The newspapers and magazines teemed with accounts of the wonderful achievements of the railroads. Books and pamphlets were written lauding the latest accomplishments in travel. A new literature was born. Poets sang the songs of the railroads. John G. Saxe gave the world his humorous and strikingly realistic "Ryme and Rail"; Allegheny City's own poet, Charles P. Shiras, published his picturesque, "The Railway Car."

The anxiety for railroads was particularly strong in Western Pennsylvania. At the session of the legislature of 1836-1837, application was made by the projectors of the Pittsburgh and Beaver Turnpike Road Company for permission to lay rails on their road, that being their method of expressing their desire to obtain the right to build a railroad. On January 10 and 11, 1838, a meeting was held in Pittsburgh at which it was decided to call a convention to meet at Harrisburg on March 6, 1838, for the purpose of maturing and adopting measures having in view the speedy construction of continuous lines of railroad between the city of Cleveland and the cities of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. The convention met in Harrisburg on the day appointed and in a carefully considered memorial directed to the Senate and House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, urged the legislature to make an appropriation for the survey of a railroad from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, not deeming it expedient to include a line from Pittsburgh to Cleveland.

In the next ten years half a dozen railroads, to connect with Pittsburgh, were projected. All asked for assistance from Allegheny County and from Pittsburgh and Allegheny

City. Generally the railroads themselves were instrumental in securing the enactment of the laws authorizing the loaning of the public credit. A supplement to the act incorporating the Pennsylvania Railroad passed on March 27, 1848, authorized the county of Allegheny and the cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny to subscribe for stock in that road. The first railroad to be constructed in Western Pennsylvania, although among the latest to be incorporated, was the Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad, projected to connect Pittsburgh with the West, but which began in Allegheny City. It was incorporated in Ohio on February 24, 1848, the act of incorporation being ratified by the legislature of this State on April 1, of that year. William Robinson, Jr., was president. On December 28, 1848, Allegheny City adopted a resolution authorizing the mayor to subscribe for two hundred thousand dollars of the capital stock of the company. There was no legislative authority for this action, and there being a question in regard to the validity of the bonds issued by Allegheny City in payment of the subscription, the action was sanctioned by the legislature on April 15, 1849. On December 20, 1849, an additional subscription of two hundred thousand dollars was made to the stock of the company, and bonds in that amount issued in payment. In this case also there was no legislative authority for the subscription, and an act was passed on April 14, 1852, authorizing the same.

On August 15, 1850, Allegheny City granted the Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad Company a right of way fifty feet wide through the common ground to Federal Street. Ground was broken for the railroad in July, 1850, and on May 12, 1851, the laying of rails began in the city. The line was completed as far as New Brighton a year later. The formal opening of the railroad took place on July 30, 1851, (3) and was a great occasion, not only in Pittsburgh and Allegheny City, but in all of Pennsylvania. The event was inaugurated by a trip over the road. The company supplied a train consisting of five cars, drawn by the locomotive "Salem," locomotives then having names instead of numbers as at present. The cars were occupied by the president and officers of the railroad

and by nearly four hundred invited guests, among whom were the leading citizens of the county, the councils of Pittsburgh and Allegheny City, the board of managers of the Allegheny County Agricultural Society, and by persons connected with other public bodies. As the train steamed away from the little station on Federal Street, it was greeted with tremendous cheers from the assembled crowd, which is said to have numbered thousands. Along the Second Bank, through the South and West commons, and all the way to the Outer Depot, the track was lined with spectators who yelled and cheered as the train rolled by. Men on horseback rode alongside of the train at top speed in an effort to outdistance the iron horse, in which attempt, as the *Pittsburgh Gazette* solemnly related, they failed. It was not until October 6, 1851, however, that passenger trains began to run regularly from Allegheny City to New Brighton. Crowds continued to surround the Federal Street station whenever trains arrived or departed. In *The Token*, a weekly periodical published in Pittsburgh, of October 18, 1851, a writer told how he was impeded in his efforts to board a train on the new railroad at the Allegheny station, by the number of idlers collected there, and demanded that the company have the station enclosed.

On November 24, 1851, regular express trains began to leave Allegheny City for Enon Valley, a distance of forty-four miles. The road was completed to Crestline, Ohio, in 1853. Here it joined the Ohio and Indiana Railroad which ran from that place to Fort Wayne, Indiana, this road, however, being still unfinished, not being completed until 1854. From Fort Wayne connection was made with the Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad, which, in February, 1856, was only finished to Columbus, twenty miles west of Fort Wayne. It reached Chicago in October of that year, when a continuous line of railroad from Allegheny City to Chicago was opened. But the railroad was not operated through Allegheny City without litigation. Again the question of the right of the owners of the town lots in the common ground, was raised. On June 2, 1853, William Bell, the owner of a house and lot fronting on the South com-

mon between Federal and Webster streets, asked for an injunction to restrain the company from occupying the common ground. The immediate cause of Bell's complaint seems to have been the fact that the company was engaged in erecting platforms for the reception and discharge of freight and passengers. Bell alleged that the right to graze his cattle on the common ground was still in existence. On July 2, 1853, a temporary injunction was granted, which on July 1, 1854, after argument, was discharged. Judge Moses Hampton of the District Court, in rendering his decision said, that for more than twenty years no grass had been growing on the common ground in front of Bell's property on which to graze cattle, and that it was not shown that the common ground was ever used by him for the purpose, or that he contemplated doing so. The lower court was affirmed by the Supreme Court on May 28, 1855, in an opinion by Chief Justice Ellis Lewis, who commenting sarcastically on Bell's claim declared that "The herbage is about as abundant as that which might be found in a recently disinterred street in Herculaneum." (4) On April 16, 1856, the legislature passed a bill adopting a law enacted by the State of Ohio, permitting the consolidation of the three railroad companies which constituted the line from Allegheny City to Chicago; and by articles of agreement dated May 6, of that year, this was effected under the name of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad Company.

The extension of the railroad from Federal Street to Pittsburgh was also contested. This was authorized by the law of December 14, 1854, which permitted the Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad Company to connect its railroad with the Pennsylvania Canal and the Pennsylvania Railroad in the city of Pittsburgh by means of a proposed bridge across the Allegheny River. On November 6, 1856, the company obtained from Allegheny City the right to extend its tracks along the north side of the canal to the railroad bridge then in process of construction. The extension was under way when Stephen Mercer and Eccles Robinson, owners of the property at the northeast corner of Federal and North Canal streets, the latter a street thirty feet in width running

along the north side of the canal, intervened and attempted to stop the work. The firm of Mercer and Robinson, at that time and for thirty-five or forty years afterward, owned a three-story brick warehouse at this point, which was about eighty or ninety feet south of the present Church Avenue. Here they conducted the grocery business. The railroad company had begun to raise the level of North Canal Street and was laying a foundation of stone to support the trestle-work on which the tracks were to be placed, which were to be on the level of Federal Street. On June 26, 1857, the plaintiffs filed in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, a bill for an injunction to restrain the company from proceeding, alleging among other matters, that by reason of the construction of the embankment and the trestle-work, the rear of their building would be buried and they would no longer be able to dray salt from the canal to their store on the other side of North Canal Street. The injunction was refused and after a delay of nearly three years, the bill was on May 5, 1860, dismissed. (5) In the meantime the work was completed, the bridge being finished on September 22, 1857.

The high expectations of the citizens who advocated the subscriptions to the stock of the railroads were not realized. The Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad as well as all the other partially completed railroads, had been far from profitable. When accepting the bonds in payment of the stock subscribed for, the railroad companies had agreed to pay the interest until the roads were finished. They made the payments for several years out of the principal of the first and the subsequent bonds issued to them, so it was charged. The bonds were sold by the railroad companies at ruinous discounts, some as low as fifty cents on the dollar, although it had been stipulated that they were not to be disposed of at less than par. In other cases the bonds were exchanged for work or supplies at even more ridiculous discounts. When no more bonds were forthcoming, the companies defaulted in the payment of the interest. The bondholders demanded what was due them from the public bodies which had issued the bonds. The people awoke from

their wild dream; a strong revulsion in sentiment sprang up. Public meetings were held, charges were made of corruption in securing the assistance of Allegheny County, and of Pittsburgh and Allegheny City. Political organizations were formed with a view to place men in office who would resist the payment of the interest. In the county a new commissioner was elected who with one of the commissioners holding over refused to sanction the payment of the interest on the bonds issued by Allegheny County. Pittsburgh refused to pay its interest, as did Allegheny City. Litigation began which lasted six or seven years. Repudiation was threatened, but the courts would not permit the repudiation of debts thus contracted. That the courts themselves believed that something was wrong in the manner in which the aid of Allegheny County and of Pittsburgh and Allegheny City was obtained, is apparent from the opinion of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in the first of the cases arising out of the matter. (6) In that case Judge Woodward said that the defendant—Allegheny County—had no legal defense, but intimated that there might be an equitable one. "Even handed justice," he said might require that a compromise be effected with the holders of the bonds by giving them a new security.

But the county of Allegheny as well as the cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny, still refused to pay the interest. The county commissioners were sent to jail, and the Pittsburgh councilmen were reprimanded by the Supreme Court. In Allegheny City the condition was aggravated. On January 18, 1860, at the instance of creditors, a receiver was appointed for the Pittsburgh Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad Company by the United States Circuit Court for the Northern District of Ohio, and by the United States Circuit Court for the Western District of Pennsylvania. At the end of that year Allegheny City owed twenty-four thousand dollars for interest on its railroad bonds. The default continued, and by the commencement of 1862 the city treasury was virtually locked up under mandamus executions which had been issued to a very large amount.

In the end Judge Woodward's suggestion was adopted.

On April 10, 1862, an act was passed authorizing Allegheny City to compromise with the bondholders, and a compromise was duly made with the holders of the bonds issued in payment of the stock. New bonds were given in exchange, bearing four per cent interest instead of six as provided in the old bonds, and having fifty years to run. The scandal resulted in 1857, in an amendment to the state constitution, prohibiting counties, cities, boroughs and other municipal divisions of the State from lending their credit, this provision being afterward incorporated in the constitution in 1873. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company was the only one of the railroads projected during this mad period of railroad building, which fulfilled its obligations.

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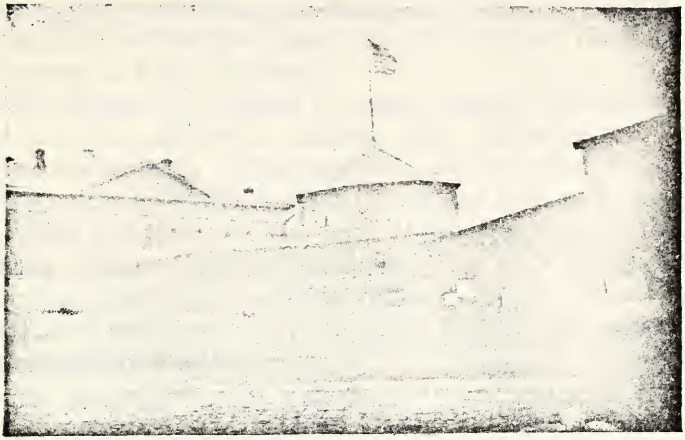
2. Elliot E. Swift, D.D. *History of the First Presbyterian Church of Allegheny*, Pittsburgh, 1876, p. 41.
3. *Pittsburgh Gazette*, July 31, 1851; *Morning Chronicle*, July 31, 1851.
4. Bell v. Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad Company, *25 Pa.* p. 161.
5. Mercer et al., v. The Pittsburgh Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad Company, *12 Casey*, p. 99.
6. Commonwealth ex Rel Thomas v. Commissioners of Allegheny County, *32 Pa.* p. 218.

CHAPTER VII.

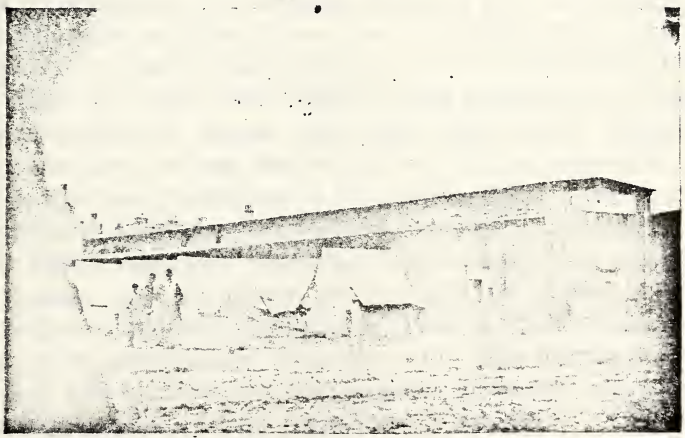
NOON AND NIGHT.

The decade in which the Civil War was fought marks the dividing line between the Old and the New Allegheny. The previous ten years had seen a wonderful increase in street paving. Pavements of a lasting character were laid; the day of cobble stones began; the city spent in 1856 alone the sum of two hundred thousand dollars on streets. Federal Street had been graded and paved from the St. Clair Street bridge to the south side of the North common. Ohio Street and a dozen or more other streets had also been graded and paved in whole or in part. The old wooden bridge at St. Clair Street was followed by the new suspension bridge which had been a little more than three years in building and was opened for public travel in 1860. At the close of this decade the first street railway company to operate with cars drawn by horses was incorporated, the Pittsburgh, Allegheny and Manchester Passenger Railway Company being chartered on April 29, 1859. It was to begin in Pittsburgh at the intersection of Penn and St. Clair streets and end at Woods Run, in Reserve Township. On September 22, 1859, the city gave its consent to the company to construct its system through the city, one line by way of Federal and Ohio streets to Manchester, and the other down Rebecca Street to the same terminus; and at the end of 1860 both branches of the railway were in operation, and the street systems of Pittsburgh and Allegheny City and that of the borough of Manchester were linked together by rail. On April 16, 1866, the councils granted the company the right to extend its line from Federal Street up Ohio Street to the easterly limit of the city. This branch was completed during that year. The Federal Street and Pleasant Valley Passenger Railway Company was incorporated on February 20, 1868. The legislature gave it a sort of roving commission to go wherever it pleased, its route beginning on "Market Street and extending to any point within said city and McClure Township." The city consented to the construction of the railway in two ordinances, the first being enacted on March 19, 1868, and the other on November 12 of that year. The en-

Sanitary Fair For the Relief of the Sick and Wounded Soldiers of the Civil War. Held in the Allegheny Diamond in June, 1864.



Left: Uncompleted City Hall, in the second story of which the art gallery and old curiosity shop were located. Center: Monitor Building erected across Federal Street. Right: Audience Hall, on the westerly part of the square, now occupied by the Allegheny Carnegie Library.



Dining Hall, on the southerly half of the southwest public square, facing Federal Street.

tire line was completed in 1869. The road crossed into Pittsburgh over the Hand Street bridge, the Pittsburgh terminus being on the westerly side of Smithfield Street in front of the United States Custom House and Post Office Building, at the corner of Fifth Avenue.

To enable its patrons to more readily distinguish the cars on the different routes, the "Manchester Line," as the Pittsburgh, Allegheny and Manchester Passenger Railway was generally called, had broad stripes painted on the sides and ends of its cars, those traversing Western Avenue—Water Lane having been given this name shortly after the construction of the railway—being yellow, those on Rebecca Street red, and the Ohio Street cars green. The distinguishing characteristic of the "Pleasant Valley" line was its dimunitive cars, drawn by two mules, and the fact that the entrance to the cars was in the rear, as in omnibuses. Another peculiarity was that the cars had no conductors, the passengers being required on entering to march to the front of the car and deposit their fare in a box attached alongside of the door which led to the platform on which the driver was stationed. For almost a third of a century from the time the first passenger railway company was incorporated, the animals drawing the cars jogged out their humble and short lives over the cobble stones, the bells attached to their collars giving out a not unmusical sound. At night the cars were lighted with sputtering oil lamps; the only heat in winter was from loose straw spread out over the floor to keep warm the feet of the passengers, yet there was less grumbling at the service than there is at the electrically lighted, electrically heated cars of today.

This decade saw more marvelous changes in Allegheny City than any preceding period; the old public buildings were razed and the new ones erected in their places larger and more pretentious than the old. The barren common ground was transformed into gardens of beauty and joy; and the city gained a large accession of territory. On April 5, 1862, an act of assembly was passed appointing a commission consisting of Samuel Riddle, Joseph Kirkpatrick, William Walker and John Wright together with the mayor of the

city—Simon Drum was mayor—to build a city hall, a new market house and weigh house. The Civil War was in its gloomiest stage; the city had its railroad indebtedness hanging like a millstone around its neck. So a proviso was inserted in the law that no contracts should be entered into by the commission until after the mandamus executions issued from the Circuit Court of the United States for the Western District of Pennsylvania, to the treasurer of the city, should have been compromised or withdrawn. A compromise having been effected, the commission went vigorously to work. In its report to councils dated January 14, 1864, they related that the market house had been completed early in 1863; that the city hall was under roof and that the offices for the city officials, it was hoped, would be ready for occupancy on the first of the following April; that the council chambers would probably be finished six months later. It was reported that the market house had all been paid for from the sale of the stalls. This was so rare an accomplishment in municipal annals that the fact should be inscribed on the tombstones of these commissioners. The new brick market house covering the entire southeast public square, was lighted and opened for public inspection on Saturday evening, April 25, 1863. The people of Allegheny City were intensely proud of this market house; they freely admitted the truth of the accounts in the Pittsburgh newspapers (1) which stated that it was the finest market house in the United States. And the market house that stood in the middle of Federal Street was removed.

The Town House, also latterly called the Town Hall, although there was no hall in it, had continued to be a reminder of the beginning of Allegheny City. It was used by the enlarged municipality for city purposes the same as when the place was a borough; the Act of March 13, 1844, amendatory of the act creating the city, fixed the Town House as the meeting-place of councils. There was a time when the structure was not entirely devoted to councils and the fire companies, and a portion was given over to merchandising. Through some influence not now apparent, the room on the first floor at the southerly end of the building,

was occupied by Samuel R. Orr, a watchmaker, and used for repairing and selling watches, clocks and kindred articles.

The intention was to tear down the old building on the occupation of the new City Hall. It having been decided to place the Sanitary Fair, organized to obtain money for the soldiers engaged in the Civil War, in the Allegheny Diamond, the Town House was torn down sooner than contemplated. The Sanitary Fair was to open June 1, 1864, and on April 7, 1864, a resolution was adopted by both branches of councils, (2) declaring that in anticipation of the demolition of the building, a photograph of it should be taken, and suggesting that the members be present at the time, and "have their heads out of the windows;" and that two hundred copies of the picture be presented to the Sanitary Fair. The photograph of the building as taken does not show the faces of the councilmen at the windows. In its issue of April 13, 1864, the *Daily Pittsburgh Gazette* chanted a swan song for the old Town House, but added philosophically that it was "a relic of the past and must give way to the inevitable march of improvement." On April 16, 1864, the work of destruction commenced and was soon completed, and the next meeting of councils on May 5, 1864, was held in the uncompleted building on the other side of Ohio Street. The mayor's office was also removed to the City Hall. Neither the burgesses nor the mayors ever had their offices in the Town House. The offices of these officials had been either in their own homes, or in buildings rented by the municipality. Until the completion of the City Hall, and for a number of years prior to that time the mayor's office was located in the three-story brick building situated on the north side of Ohio Street below West Diamond Street, rented from the heirs of William Herron. In this building the city watch-house or lockup was also maintained. For many years afterward the house was owned and occupied by the Ben Franklin Insurance Company, and was only torn down on the erection of the Post Office building in 1893. It stood on the westerly thirty feet of the Post Office property. For four or five years prior to the completion of the City Hall the Post

Office had been located at the northwest corner of Federal and Lacock streets, and before that time at the northeast corner of Water Alley and East Diamond Street. It was now given space in the City Hall; and for twenty-eight years it occupied the room at the corner of Federal and Ohio streets.

The rural beauty of the old village had disappeared decades ago. The increase in population and the progress of the town had changed the entire contour of the landscape. The runs which meandered through the common ground and from the hills beyond had long since been deprived of their natural beauty. Their banks were no longer lined with draperies of green. Saw Mill Run was called "Butcher's Run," because a large number of butchers had established their slaughter houses on its banks. In the East Street Valley it was also known by the even less euphonious name of "Soft Soap Run" for the reason that a number of soap-boiling establishments were located on its shores. The branch that came from the Spring Garden Valley had its borders lined with slaughter-houses and tanneries. The refuse from the slaughter-houses, soap-boiling establishments, and tanneries, was thrown into the runs, and in summer the stench became unbearable. The run in Snyder's Hollow was in the same condition as Saw Mill Run, but in a lesser degree. Only the old picnic grove remained to recall to the festively inclined their outings there in days gone by. The lack of herbage on the South common on which both Judge Hampton and Judge Lewis had commented when William Bell was attempting to stop the operation of the Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad, was no longer peculiar to the South common, but extended over the larger part of the other commons. If cattle were in any part of the common ground at all, they were on the North or West common, and had been driven there, not that there was much grass for them to crop, but because their owners desired to get them out of the noisome atmosphere of the stables in which they were housed. In a few places in the common ground the runs had been sewered over, but in the main they were still open. The gullies in which they ran had become public dumping grounds and were receptacles for the refuse of the city; they

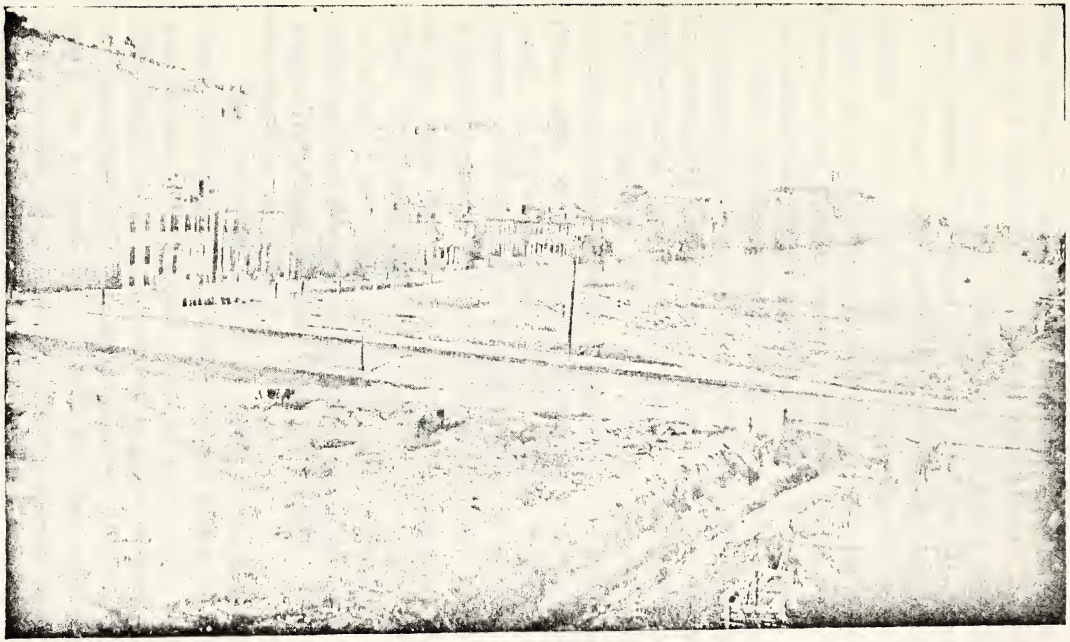
ran with foul water, and had become a nuisance and a menace to the health of the city. The hogs which, notwithstanding the numerous ordinances which had been enacted to prevent their running at large since Allegheny had been a borough, were still permitted to roam over the common ground, root in the debris and wallow in the waters. The Civil War cast a temporary glamor over the accumulated unsightliness, because a portion of the common ground was occupied by soldiers; and it became a Mecca for the townspeople. In the West common near the west wall of the Penitentiary, the soldiers were encamped. And oh! how the sight of the men in blue uniforms with muskets aslant on their shoulders pacing back and forth, the white tents, and the rows of brass cannon caused the hearts of the young urchins, who continually hung on the outskirts of the encampment, to beat with patriotism, and how they wished they were grown men, in order that they could be soldiers and fight the wicked Rebels.

The improvements in the public squares being completed, and the war being over, a determined movement was begun for the redemption of the common ground. Sporadic efforts in that direction had been made before this time, but little was accomplished. In 1856 the councils appointed trustees to raise funds by subscription to improve the east portion of the South common, and the south portion of the East common; and on September 3, 1857, trustees were likewise appointed to obtain subscriptions for the improvement of the west portion of the South common. Some progress was made by both bodies of trustees and a small portion of the South and East commons were enclosed. On May 1, 1861, a law was enacted authorizing the councils to remove the bodies of the dead from the South and West commons; and this had been accomplished. In 1867 the work of improvement was taken up in good earnest by procuring the passage of a comprehensive law appropriating the common ground to the use of the citizens as public parks, and authorizing the councils to appoint a commission to undertake the work. In order to avoid the old question of the right of the holders of the town lots to graze their cattle on the common

ground, the Quarter Sessions Court of Allegheny County was authorized to appoint viewers to ascertain the damages of anyone who should make a claim, as well as to provide for benefits derived.

The commission organized on April 19, 1867. Mitchell and Grant, landscape architects of New York, were employed to prepare a plan for the improvement, who made a comprehensive report on October 14, 1867, which was adopted by the councils. The preliminary labor was completed in November and approved by the councils and work on the ground begun. This was done under the direction of Charles Davis, the city engineer. The Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad Company cooperated with the Park Commissioners. The improvement took a number of years to accomplish, but the heaviest work was done in the first two or three years. The old wooden fence enclosing the right of way of the railroad was superseded by a stone wall surmounted by an iron fence. Fences were built around the grounds. Sewers were constructed, gullies filled up, grounds leveled; roads and paths were laid out; grass seed was sown and lawns planted; trees and shrubbery were set out; the old wooden bridges spanning Western and Ridge avenues were replaced with bridges of iron; fountains were constructed, and in the Centennial Year of the Republic the task of the Park Commission was completed and the parks turned over to the city, and accepted on December 28, 1876.

More modern methods in the conduct of the city's affairs were introduced. In 1864 it numbered its houses; the fire alarm telegraph system was introduced in 1867, the free delivery mail service in 1868, and the paid fire department in 1870. In 1867 the area of Allegheny City was largely increased. The borough of Manchester was added on the west, a portion of the township of Reserve on the north, and part of the township of McClure on the northwest. The next year the city was extended eastwardly by the annexation of a portion of the borough of Duquesne. In 1870 more of McClure Township was added and in 1873 the last remnant absorbed, and at different times parts of Ross and Reserve townships were annexed. Having attained a



North Common in 1868.

Federal Street crosses near the middle of the tract. In the background are the buildings on North Avenue, including the old Third Ward School House on the extreme right.

population in excess of one hundred thousand, Allegheny City on April 6, 1891, became a city of the second class, and was equal in rank with Pittsburgh. With the increase in size and importance, it was unnecessary longer to attach "City" to its name, and all but the older generation of citizens dropped the word. It was now simply Allegheny.

During these years Pittsburgh had also grown tremendously, much more even than Allegheny City. But she desired to be larger still. She cast longing eyes across the river at her smaller sister. Several times she stretched out her arms yearningly to take her to her bosom. As far back as 1867 (3) she opened wide her door to admit Allegheny City along with other districts which she desired to annex, by procuring the passage of an act of consolidation. She accomplished her purpose with the other districts, but failed to win Allegheny City. For the purpose of the election to be held on consolidation, Allegheny City was placed in a district along with certain boroughs and townships situated north of the Allegheny River. The majority vote of the district was to decide whether they desired to be annexed. The election was held on October 10, 1867, and the majority of the votes cast in the district was against the consolidation. Pittsburgh did not become discouraged; the sentiment in favor of annexing Allegheny grew steadily. In 1893 she made another attempt, this time by using force if necessary. Again Allegheny shrank back. In 1895 a still more determined effort was made.

The agitation began in 1894. The Pittsburgh politicians, Christopher L. Magee, State Senator William Flinn and Edward M. Bigelow, led the movement. In December, Pittsburgh councils appointed a joint committee to proceed to Harrisburg at the coming session of the legislature, and urge the passage of the bill for the establishment of a Greater Pittsburgh, which it was proposed to introduce. The Chamber of Commerce was induced to appoint a similar committee. The design was to include the smaller cities in the county, and a number of boroughs and townships, but the main purpose was to take in Allegheny. The bill as introduced in the Senate by Senator Flinn provided that upon

the petition of two per centum of the qualified electors of the district desiring to be annexed, the Common Pleas Court of the county should order a joint election to be held in the city to which application for annexation was made, and in the petitioning district, the joint vote to decide the result. Much opposition to the bill developed in Allegheny. The leading politicians rose up in arms. Samuel C. Grier, Robert McAfee, John R. Murphy, and the lesser luminaries who revolved around these greater stars, called on their friend, United States Senator M. S. Quay, for assistance. Their cry was not in vain. Allegheny employed David T. Watson, Esq., to prepare amendments to the pending bill. The percentage of electors required was raised to five; the bill was divided; one bill was for the annexation of the cities of the third class, boroughs and townships, the other for the annexation of the cities of the second class alone, meaning Allegheny. In this form the two bills were enacted into laws on May 8, 1895. In the spring of 1896 the requisite number of citizens of the borough of Millvale asked to be annexed to Pittsburgh, but when the petition was presented to the Common Pleas Court, it was refused, and the act declared unconstitutional. (4)

So ended this attempt by Pittsburgh "to take Allegheny in by the heels," as the Alleghenians loved to term the mode of procedure.

Allegheny was still growing; the population had reached approximately one hundred and twenty-five thousand. The desire of Pittsburgh for its annexation was now a mania; some of the Allegheny politicians had retired to private life, the eyes of others were opened and they saw advantages in consolidation. One or two newspapers which formerly had been lukewarm in their advocacy of annexation, came out strongly in its favor. The politicians in power in the State were also favorable. The year 1905 was a reform year in politics, and the governor, Samuel W. Pennypacker, was riding in the band wagon. He decided to call a special session of the legislature to act on his projects. Friends of the scheme to annex Allegheny to Pittsburgh were close to the governor and he was induced to add this as one of the objects

of his call in the proclamations which he issued. The act was quickly rushed through the legislature, becoming a law on February 7, 1906, and was the first of the bills enacted to be approved by the governor.

The law provided for a joint election in Pittsburgh and Allegheny. It was held on Tuesday, June 12, 1906. Pittsburgh cast 31,117 votes in favor, and 5,323 against consolidation, while Allegheny voted 12,307 against the measure and only 6,747 in its favor. The total number of votes in favor of consolidation was 37,864, and against it 17,713. The decree consolidating the two cities under the name of Pittsburgh, was made by the Quarter Sessions Court of Allegheny County, on June 16, 1906. Exceptions were filed and immediately dismissed. An appeal was taken to the Superior Court of Pennsylvania which affirmed the decision of the Quarter Sessions Court. An appeal was then taken to the Supreme Court of the State and the Superior Court was affirmed. A last effort was made and a writ of error was granted by the Supreme Court of the United States. Again the exceptants lost and on November 6, 1907, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania was affirmed. On December 6, 1907, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania ordered the record of the entire proceedings to be remitted to the Quarter Sessions Court, which order was filed in this county on the same day, and the consolidation became effective. Allegheny was proud of her existence, and her death struggles were severe. The consolidation savored strongly of force which the people resented. Today it is believed that it was a wise movement and was for the best. "The King is dead, long live the King!"

REFERENCES.

1. *Daily Pittsburgh Gazette*, April 27, 1863.
2. *Daily Pittsburgh Gazette*, April 8, 1864.
3. Act of April 6, 1867, *Pamphlet Laws* 1867, p. 846.
4. Millvale Borough Annexation, *5 District Reports*, p. 726.

Dr. David Alter, a Local Scientist.

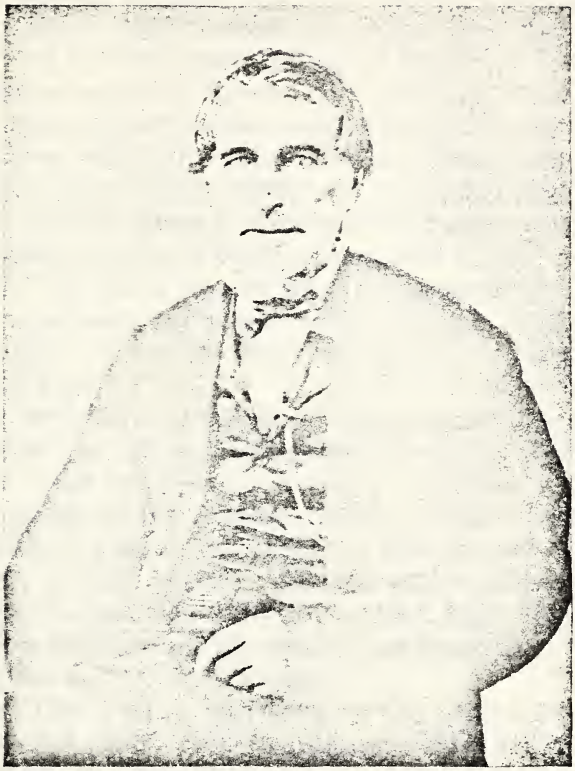
BY MISS DELLA MEANS*

In her Introduction to Amiel's *Journal Intime*, Mrs. Humphrey Ward says, "The philosopher has always tended to become unfit for practical life." My sketch deals with such a man—a modest village doctor whose genius should have won the greatest fame the world can give and a fortune beyond any of his day. But he was too engrossed in his studies to court fame and his lack of practical business sense let fortune slip—not once, but many times—even though it was almost within his grasp.

In 1753, the good ship "Beulah" arrived at Philadelphia from Rotterdam with Swiss and German emigrants for the Province of Pennsylvania. Among these were three Germans: Georg Heinrich Alter, Johann Jacob Alter and Georg Friederich Alter. These were possibly father and two sons. One account gives September 10, 1753, as the date of their arrival, while another gives it as the date upon which Johann Jacob Alter took the oath of allegiance to his adopted country. As Johann Jacob was Dr. David Alter's grandfather, this branch of the family will be mentioned briefly.

About 1768, Johann Jacob Alter married Margaretha Landis, daughter of Henry and Veronica (Graafe) Landis, of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, her maternal grandfather being Hans Graafe, who had come from Switzerland to Philadelphia in 1696. Four daughters and six sons were born of this union. He moved from Lancaster County to Cumberland County and was prominent in that section, being a member of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania from 1799 to 1805. He died at the age of seventy-three. Of the ten children, only three need be mentioned. (1) The seventh child, Susannah, born October 30, 1780, in 1800, married Joseph Ritner, who was a member of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania from 1820 to 1825, and

*Read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, May 28, 1918.



Dr. David Alter
At the age of sixty.

governor of this state from 1835 to 1839. (2) The fourth child, David, born February 7, 1775, married Elizabeth Mell September 1, 1797, and two years later settled on Puckety Creek, near Parnassus. There he built the blacksmith shop and grist mill which, as "Alter's Mill," is one of the landmarks still to be seen. (3) Dr. Alter's grandfather was Johann Jacob Alter's second son, John, born September 13, 1771, who, in 1794, married Eleanor Sheets of York County. Her father was Peter Sheetz, who was born in the Lake Lucerne region of Switzerland in 1680 and, after many romantic adventures which Dr. Alter loved to relate, came to Philadelphia in the "Loyal Judith" on November 25, 1740. He settled in York County, where he was famous not only as a watchmaker, but as a mechanician with a great gift for invention. He was a man of large frame, great strength, and much comeliness, and a born leader of men. The Alter men are usually tall, so Dr. Alter's exceptional height is easily accounted for.

In 1800, John and Eleanor Alter crossed the mountains and settled on a farm in Allegheny Township, Westmoreland County, near the David previously mentioned. Here they lived the life of the average German pioneer farmers until the death of John in the winter of 1833-34, and of his wife, Eleanor, in 1840 or 1841. Of their eight children, the only daughter became the wife of the Rev. Isaac Van Arsdale; and three sons became physicians, one being their fifth child, David, the subject of this sketch.

Dr. David Alter was born on the Westmoreland farm December 3, 1807. Whether he ever attended a school or was taught by the minister or a master is not known. German was the language of the home, but, after he was nineteen or thereabouts, Dr. Alter would not speak German unless his companion could not speak English. German letters written to the doctor were frequently translated to him by his friend, F. D. Schweitering, a German merchant of Freeport, which shows that the doctor could not read the script easily. He learned English from a Testament principally, which accounts for his wonderful facility in this language.

When eight or nine years of age, he read of the life of Benjamin Franklin, and so developed an interest in electricity. At ten, an uncle brought a Leyden jar and some electrical appliances from the East. Thus learning of the generation of electricity by friction and of its storage in a Leyden jar, the boy began to experiment. Before he was fifteen, he had set up in his father's orchard a pole topped by a wire in an effort to charge his Leyden jars from the clouds.

His eyesight became so impaired that he consulted a physician in Freeport, to whom he afterward always referred as "the Irish Doctor," whose name is now forgotten. Though he prescribed for the eyes, this warm-hearted Irishman could not resist lending the boy a book on electricity which he studied so eagerly that his sight became still more impaired. Later, another physician loaned him a book on chemistry, which was soon mastered. The boy was so eager to learn from his borrowed books that in after years he frequently told of the wrath of his hard-working father when he discovered young David seated upon his plow oblivious to everything but his book. The doctor's amused chuckle always left his auditor to imagine how the sturdy German induced his studious son to resume the much-needed plowing.

He began the study of medicine after he was twenty-one, and in 1831, at the age of twenty-four, was graduated as a physician from the Reformed Medical College of the United States, in New York City, founded by Dr. Wooster Bach, and representing the Eclectic School of Medicine. To attend this school, he was compelled to ride on horseback from his home to Philadelphia, and finish his journey on the railway then just completed.

After his graduation, he began the practice of medicine at Elderton, Armstrong County, Pennsylvania, and his great ability as a physician was soon recognized. Indeed, his reputation in his chosen profession became such as the years passed by, that he was called into consultation in difficult cases all along the Allegheny Valley, as far as Oil City. He was in advance of his time, for he never, under any circumstances, prescribed whisky; although the Rev.

N. P. Kerr tells how the doctor discovered that Mrs. Kerr had made a quantity of grape juice to offer her callers and sent patients for it until the minister's wife had none left. He never made any charges to poor patients and never sent out any bills. Large sums remain uncollected, of course.

To his modest home in Elderton, after their marriage on January 12, 1832, he brought his first wife, Laura Rowley of Freeport, whose family had come from Vermont, and who was a grandniece of Governor Jonas Galusha of that state.

At Elderton, in 1836, he invented an electric telegraph which consisted of seven wires, electrically deflecting a needle on a disc at the extremity of each wire. As each needle was deflected to the right or to the left, the seven gave in all fourteen movements, or characters, which, in turn, by combination, gave a greater number than was absolutely necessary to transmit messages resolved into letters or figures. Each wire had a separate helix and about three miles of wire were used in the system installed between his house and his workshop, which was in the barn. The honor of transmitting the first message must be given to Dr. Alter and his brother-in-law, Dr. Myron Rowley, and later the members of the family transmitted messages at will. Without doubt, this was the first electric telegraph, for Prof. Wheatstone, of England, invented his one-wire telegraph in 1837, and Prof. Morse's invention came still later, although he was working upon the idea a number of years before perfecting it.

That Morse stole the idea of the telegraph from Dr. Alter was frequently asserted in the newspapers of the day, the story being still current, despite the fact that Dr. Alter vigorously denied it. To the late Dr. Frank Cowan, of Greensburg, who interviewed Dr. Alter at his home in Freeport in 1878, and afterward published the interview, Dr. Alter said: "I am free to say this story is without the slightest foundation—indeed, I may say that there is no connection at all between the telegraph of Morse and others and that of myself; my system would be inadequate to do the work that is done today by the Morse. Oh, no, no! Prof.

Morse most probably never heard of me or my Elderton telegraph." Dr. Cowan says further: "I was surprised * * * * * * but at the same time pleased that the doctor exhibited more anxiety to disabuse my mind of erroneous impressions of another than to create a favorable impression of himself. Indeed, with respect to his own electric telegraph, he spoke of it as if it had been a toy of his youth, or an ingenious plaything for the amusement of himself and family. Dr. Alter had applied for a patent for his telegraph at least four years prior to that granted Morse, but the patent was refused on the ground that 'the idea was too absurd and chimerical.' "

Years afterward, his idea that "the telegraph could be made to speak," was worked out with baking-powder cans for mouthpiece and receiver and a string for the connection. On this crude telephone, he and his daughter often talked from "the shop" to the yard at the Freeport home. Whispers could be heard for twenty feet. This also was regarded as a toy and not developed.

In 1837, Dr. Alter invented a small electric motor and, on June 29, 1837, he published in the *Kittanning Gazette* an elaborate article on the use of electricity as a motive power, under the heading of "Facts Relating to Electro-Magnetism." This attracted the notice of scientists and inventors and is noted in Silliman's "Principles of Physics," page 616. Thus the forerunner of the electric motor, now so indispensable, is to be accredited to this modest man.

In the article in the *Kittanning Gazette*, Dr. Alter also writes of the possibility of the electrification of railways and points out the advantages of electric locomotives over the steam ones. In 1837, this was regarded as visionary but now we know that the dream has become a reality. At the time of his death, Dr. Alter was working upon plans for an electric locomotive.

In a "History of Armstrong County," there is a short account of Dr. Alter, and 1843 is given as the date of his removal from Elderton to Freeport. He lived in a house—long since destroyed—on Water Street, on what is still known as the Moorhead property, now owned by Mrs. John Shirley. Dr. Alter always loved the beautiful scene about

the house. Water Street runs parallel with the Allegheny River and is opposite the high wooded bluff which extends from Garver's Ferry to the mouth of the Kiskiminitis River. A square west of his home is the mouth of Big Buffalo Creek and still farther on is "the Bend" with the wooded hill on the right bank.

A man named Kline had built a large frame house for a home but soon desiring to leave town, sold the new house to Dr. Alter, who moved four lots away from his first location and lived there for the remainder of his life. Some years after his death, "the old doctor's house," as it was called, was burned to the ground and the contents destroyed. But his only surviving child, Mrs. Anna R. Alter Burtner, erected a new house on the same location and this is still her home.

His first wife died very shortly after coming to Freeport and, on May 14, 1844, Dr. Alter married Elizabeth Amanda Rowley, a sister of his first wife. She survived the doctor, dying November 15, 1900. Of the three children by the first marriage and the eight by the second, only four lived to maturity. Of these, it is claimed that Electa's was the first body to be interred in the present Freeport Cemetery; Ella died in 1881, a few months before her father; Dr. Myron H. died some years later; Mrs. Burtner is spending this year in Denver but gave me all the help possible in preparing this paper before leaving. She was her father's interested helper and talks of his wonderful scientific investigations as easily as I would speak of going down town.

In the Alter home, a room on the second floor soon became known as "the shop." It opened upon an upper porch on the eastern side of the house and it was there that I, the shy, wee youngster of five, who lived next door for the last six months of the doctor's life, recollect clinging to my father's hand in the warm summer darkness and watching the tall old doctor working with his telescope as he observed the northern sky. His reflecting telescope (made by himself) was on a tripod and was about eight feet long, with lenses ten and fifteen inches in diameter. While he was compelled by his poverty to make most of his instruments

(and often the tools with which to make them) he had an excellent spectroscope presented to him by Hageman, of Sweden. To enlarge the image of the sun spots, Dr. Alter simply hung sheets against the wall of his house and the spots were plainly visible. On his porch he loved to stand and estimate the distance of storms by counting the seconds between the lightning flashes and the loudest part of the thunder.

To my childish mind, that "shop" was fairy-land, though not one thing in all the clutter was to be touched by investigating fingers. A stolen touch upon something that "stung" cured all desire ever to touch anything there again. The doctor was an excellent taxidermist and that place held so many animals and birds that the wonder is how he ever packed in his books and various appliances. His concentration was such that often he never knew that any one had entered or left. But, if not busy, he always had a winning smile and a word for the quiet little neighbor who reveled in the sights of "the shop" for hours.

Here he invented a "shocking machine," the forerunner of the more perfect machines of today.

Here he invented the large electrical clock run by batteries (Leyden jars) in the cellar. The old clock in the shop was set by electricity. This was the forerunner of the electric clocks now so commonly used.

Here he worked out the plans for an electric motor to run a buggy—the forerunner of the automobile.

Here Mr. Herman Schweitering, of Freeport, saw a butter bowl with wires drawn across the top and was told by Dr. Alter that his experiment showed that some day people would be traveling through the air—a forerunner of aeroplane.

Here also he utilized the discovery of Daguerre and became an expert operator. His daguerreotypes were made on collodium glass plate and his ambertypes on tin plate. His two daguerreotypes of the dark lines of the Solar Spectrum was a wonderful achievement and showed him to be a master of the art.

Here he invented a rotating retort for the extraction of coal-oil from cannel-coal and the oliferous shales. This apparatus was operated either at Lucesco or Schenley, on the south side of the river from Freeport, and was backed by a company having ample capital, one of the capitalists being a brother of Gov. Johnson of Pennsylvania, a distant relative of Dr. Alter. Dr. Alter was chemist and general superintendent, and the philosopher was on the high road to great wealth when Drake struck oil, and the project collapsed, though the doctor sold his project for a fair sum—the only money which he ever received from any of his discoveries except bromine. The ingenious lamp he had invented in which to use this oil for illuminating purposes was also of no use. Dr. Alter always refused to go into the oil business, as so many did at that time.

Having discovered a method for obtaining wood alcohol, he manufactured it for some time in a small building across Big Buffalo Creek, directly above the present railroad bridge.

In 1845 or 1846, Dr. Alter, in partnership with Dr. Edward Gillespie and his brother, James Gillespie, began the manufacture of bromine from the bittern, or mother liquor of the salt wells at Butler Junction (across the creek from Freeport) and at Karns (upon the property where my brother now lives, and which is owned by Mr. George Beale) and at Natrona where the Pennsylvania Salt Company now has its large plant. The French chemist, Antoine Jerome Balard, had discovered the elementary substance of bromine in 1826, while experimenting with sea water, and Dr. Alter's invention simply improved the method of its manufacture so that there could be produced unlimited quantities of a hitherto scarce and costly product. It sold for $30 a pound, which was little more than half a pint. Its use as a drug was little understood, and it was principally used in making daguerreotypes. A large jar of the precious substance was exhibited in New York in 1853 and attracted great attention because of there being such a large quantity of the rare substance. The Gillespie brothers were excellent business men and obtained two patents for this

process, the first being secured on July 5, 1848. Dr. Alter obtained a third patent for still another improvement in the manufacture of bromine and iodine in 1867. The bromine works were situated on the right bank of the Big Buffalo Creek, opposite the upper end of the island, just below the present Laneville bridge.

The story that Dr. Alter invented an excellent car coupler probably arose from the following: A man talked of his incomplete invention of a coupler to Dr. Myron Alter, at Kittanning, who sent the man to his father. The old doctor soon remedied the trouble and was quite indignant when the man offered him $5 for his help. Then saying he would share any profits with the doctor, the man left, but forgot his promise when he sold his patent for several thousand dollars.

A signal service station was established at Freeport on April 16, 1873, under the charge of Dr. Alter and his son. The present mode of making monthly reports showing the relation between the quantity of rain and the rise in the river is the work of the son. After Dr. Myron had left home, any member of the family who happened in did the work of the station. While calling upon the daughter, Mrs. Burtner, last summer, the telephone rang and the daily weather report was asked for. She stepped to the front window, glanced at the guage on the pier of the bridge built some years before to replace Garver's Ferry, in order to ascertain the stage of the river, and then unconcernedly gave such a succinct scientific reply that I was amazed.

The greatest achievement of all was the discovery of the Spectrum Analysis in 1853. The doctor supposed that he was the first discoverer, but last year Dr. Brashear, aided by a librarian in the British Isles, found evidence that this honor must be given to a Scotchman, who is as little honored for the disocvery as is Dr. Alter. The honor is commonly accorded to Gustav Robert Kirchhoff, of Königsberg, Germany, who announced his discovery in 1859—six years later than Dr. Alter, whose articles had already been published in the leading scientific journal of this country and copied by Swiss, French, and German journals.

This formal announcement was first made in "Silliman's American Journal of Science and Art" in November, 1854, Second Series, Vol. XVIII, pp. 55-57, under the following caption: "On Certain Physical Properties of Light, produced by the combustion of different metals, in the Electric Spark, refracted by a prism; by David Alter, M. D., Freeport, Penn." A second article appeared in the same journal for May, 1855, Vol. XIX, pp. 213-214 entitled: "On certain Physical Properties of the Light of the Electric Spark within certain Gases, as seen through a Prism; by D. Alter, M. D., Freeport, Pa."

In his sketch of Dr. Alter published in The Pennsylvania German of March, 1910, James B. Laux, of New York, copies these articles as they were written by Dr. Alter.

Dr. Alter began his first article by saying: "We are indebted to the celebrated M. Fraunhofer (Frauenhofer is now the usual spelling) for the fact that the Solar Spectrum is crossed by numerous fixed lines, and that the light of some of the fixed stars differs from that of the sun in the number and situation of these lines. In order to see some of these lines without the aid of a telescope, I ground a prism of flint glass with a large refracting angle (74 degrees)." He then describes very minutely the results of his observations upon sunlight, upon the blaze of a lamp burning petroleum, the blaze of a tallow candle, the flame of alcohol, a slip of white paper illuminated by a tallow candle, the jet of a blow pipe, the light from a heated wire or charcoal, the electric spark from a Leyden jar, and various minerals when subjected to the powerful electrical discharges of a magneto-electric machine. These are silver, copper, zinc, mercury, platinum, gold, antimony, bismuth, tin, lead, iron, brass, an alloy of copper and zinc, and an alloy of silver and copper.

In the second article, he announces the results of his experiments with the electric spark in atmospheric air, hydrogen, nitrogen, chlorine, carbonic acid gas, sulphuretted hydrogen, oxygen, etc. He says, "From this, we perceive the cause of the difference in color in the flashes of lightning—for when the electricity has a watery conductor in much of

its course, it will emit red light; but when it passes through air, the light will be white, as in the spark through that medium the bands (of color) are well distributed among the colors of the spectrum. The colors also observed in the aurora borealis probably indicate the elements involved in that phenomenon. The prism may also detect the elements in shooting stars, or luminous meteors."

The little prism with which Dr. Alter made his remarkable experiments was made by himself from a fragment of a great mass of very brilliant flint glass found in a pot in the ruins of Bakewell's glass-house after the disastrous fire which, on April 10th, 1845, nearly destroyed the city of Pittsburgh. Because of his interest in Dr. Alter's work, this prism was given to Dr. Frank Cowan, by the old doctor. After Dr. Cowan's death, the Carnegie Museum of Pittsburgh came into possession of his scientific collection and this prism may now be found in the case just inside the front doorway of the museum. An oil portrait of Dr. Alter painted by Dr. William J. Holland from a photograph, hangs upon the wall to the right of the case.

These experiments show the limitless patience of the man in his conscientious effort to secure exact truth. He was bitterly disappointed that so little notice was taken of his discovery of the spectrum analysis, for he had expected that the entire scientific world would take notice of it.

The disappointed old doctor, broken in health, was forced to suffer a bitter humiliation in the last year of his life. The *Freeeport Journal* of January 14, 1881, says: "The doctor met with misfortunes in his old age, not from any misconduct of his, but from circumstances over which he had no control. His homestead property was sold from him, as well as all his other property and he was left entirely destitute, but a few kind friends came to his rescue and, without the doctor's knowledge, raised a sufficient amount of money to re-purchase his homestead, and on New Year's evening a self-constituted committee of two waited upon the old gentleman and presented him with the deed of the old homestead, free from all incumbrances, and a handsome bonus besides." Of the same incident, the *Kittanning Free*

Press says, "Through some business complications, Dr. Alter became embarrassed and was forced to mortgage the old homestead. A few months ago the mortgage was foreclosed, and, after a long and busy life, it seemed he would have to leave the roof which had sheltered him so long. Freeport and Kittanning friends made up a fund for its repurchase and Dr. Alter was moved to tears at the kindness of these friends." The item closes with, "The act shows in what high esteem he is held by his neighbors." From the *Freeport Journal*, I copy the following:

> "Card of Thanks.
>
> To the many friends, who participated in the gift of New Year, it is impossible to convey the depth of my gratitude. May each of you be blessed with a thousand-fold return for your kindness."
>
> David Alter, M. D."

Happy that he need not leave his old home and secure in the love of his friends, the old doctor could not stay the progress of disease but became resigned to the knowledge of approaching death. Although a strong believer in the early coming of the millenium, he had hoped to live until that time had come. He had joined the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Freeport late in life, but the church records unfortunately have been lost and the date cannot be obtained. The Misses Mary and Anna Boyd informed me that they remembered very well when Dr. Alter and his nephew, Milton, went to the mourner's bench together in a revival held by the Rev. E. M. Wood. The record gives the date of this pastorate as 1867-1868. Dr. Charles Gillespie attended Dr. Alter in his last illness and walked the floor in distress when he found that human skill could do nothing that would avail to save the life of his old friend, who died of a complication of diseases, but pneumonia principally, on Sabbath, September 18th, 1881.

My father and mother helped to care for the doctor all of the night preceding his death. The next night my exhausted parents were awakened by the struggle of my bro-

ther in an attack of membraneous croup and my frightened mother startled the watchers in the Alter home by rushing in and calling for Dr. Myron. True to the lifelong habit of helping any one in distress, their own grief was put aside and not only Dr. Myron but his mother and other friends, ran to our home, and it is to them we owe my brother's life.

The funeral was held in the present First Methodist Episcopal Church, which had been built only a short time previous. All the ministers of the town were present, as well as a number of the former pastors of his church. The church was so crowded that not all could obtain entrance. Probably more than two hundred vehicles filled with sorrowing friends followed "the old doctor" (as he is lovingly called to this day) to his last resting-place in the Alter lot, which is adjacent to the circular plot marking the center of the cemetery. In the middle of the plot the Alter monument now stands.

The *Freeport Journal* of September 23, 1881, contains the following:

"Obituary.

Alter—At his residence, Freeport, Sabbath, September 18th, Dr. David Alter, aged 74. In the death of Dr. Alter our community loses a good citizen, and the State one of the ablest minds of the age. His whole life was spent in the interest of science and humanity. * * * * While he has sown others have reaped and in a pecuniary sense he died poor. But in that higher, nobler wealth he was rich—rich in love for his fellow man—rich in good deeds, rich in Christian experience, rich in the pure life he lived and the good name he left behind him. * * * *"

Years passed by and the grave remained unmarked; not through neglect, but because of lack of money in the family, which now consists of Mrs. Burtner and her daughter, Mrs. H. E. (Laverna) Scott, who with her husband and three children, reside at Vandergrift, Pennsylvania. But after reading Laux' article in 1910, Mr. R. B. McKee, editor of the *Freeport Journal*, determined that a memorial should be erected to Dr. Alter's memory. A resolution to that ef-

fect was offered at the next Board of Trade meeting and unanimously adopted, the president appointing Burgess Wilson Dougherty, R. B. McKee, J. H. Shoop, H. H. Sweitering, and A. Sweeney to prosecute the work. The matter was presented to the people through the *Journal*, but no funds were solicited, believing that whatever was given should be a perfect free-will offering. Many were glad to contribute, as was I, when the opportunity came.

To a committee composed of Mrs. J. O. Ralston, Miss Minnie Heck and Miss Anna Boyd was given the work of selecting the inscription for the stone. They selected the one written by Mrs. Ralston. It was decided that a plain block of dark Barre granite, sarcophagus style, would best be in keeping with the character of the doctor.

At the close of the Memorial Day services at the soldiers' monument on May 30th, 1911, the great crowd gathered to witness the unveiling of the monument. After a selection by the band, the Rev. N. P. Kerr, of Oakmont, (Dr. Alter's close friend and former pastor) offered prayer; the Dixie Quartette sang and a poem was read by the author, the Rev. J. J. Francis, D. D., who was a friend of the old doctor's also; then Dr. John A. Brashear, in a brief address, gave a grand tribute to his old friend's memory. As Mrs. Burtner drew the cord, unveiling the memorial to her father, R. B. McKee presented it to the citizens and gave it into the keeping of the Cemetery Board. Mr. Samuel Turner, president of the Board, accepted the trust. Afterward all sang "America," the benediction was pronounced by the Rev. A. H. Davies, the minister of the First Methodist Episcopal Church.

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Wayne-Logstown Monument
At Legionville, Pa. Dedicated June 22nd, 1918.

Dedication of the Wayne-Logstown Monument at Legionville, Pa.

The monument, erected by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission to mark the site of the ancient Indian village of Logstown and the army cantonment where during the winter of 1792-3 Gen. Anthony Wayne drilled his famous "Legion," was dedicated on Saturday afternoon, June 22nd, 1918. The ceremony took place in the meadow beside the memorial on the Lincoln Highway several hundred yards north of Legionville Station on the Pittsburgh Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad. The sky was overcast throughout the day and a chilly rain driven by a raw wind swept across the plateau where about 100 devoted patriots gathered at the roadside to honor the memory of American pioneers whose deeds had made this ground historic. But the rain did not interrupt the proceedings nor dampen the ardor of the spectators, and despite the inclement weather the program was carried out as originally planned.

The monument has been placed on the northeast corner of the ground occupied by Wayne's army cantonment. It is of rough-hewn granite about eight feet high and contains two keystone-shaped bronze tablets—one bearing an inscription telling of the location of Wayne's camp and the other sets forth briefly the story of the Indian settlement at Logstown. The site of the ancient village where Conrad Weiser, George Washington and other early travelers in this region held their conferences with the red men was several hundred yards south of the location of the monument.

The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania acted as host at the dedicatory ceremony. In the absence of William C. Sproul, Chairman of the Historical Commission, William H. Stevenson, treasurer of the Commission and President of the Historical Society, presided. Dr. Henry W. Temple, of Washington, Pa., representative in Congress from the Twenty-fourth Pennsylvania district, delivered the historical address. The dedication was in charge of a commit-

tee of the Historical Society, of which O. S. Decker was chairman.

Mrs. William H. Stevenson unveiled the tablets, this being the only formal ceremony during the exercises. This feature of the program drew a round of applause and a cheer when Mrs. Stevenson unwound the cloth that had concealed the artistic plates of bronze imbedded in the rugged shaft.

Addresses were delivered by Dr. George P. Donehoo, an eminent authority on Indian history; Hon. A. E. Sisson of the Historical Commission; Dr. Thomas L. Montgomery, Pennsylvania State Librarian, and Rev. Dr. J. H. Bausman, author of the "History of Beaver County." An autograph letter written by General Wayne was read by Mr. Stevenson.

A movement has been started to have the ground embracing the Legionville cantonment and the site of Logstown preserved as a public park. To consummate this plan would require the state to purchase about 30 acres of land between the Lincoln Highway and the Ohio River.

The inscriptions in the bronze tablets in the monument are as follows:

I.

"On the plateau southwest of this spot was situated the camp of General Anthony Wayne. This army, known as the Legion of the United States, encamped at this place when on the expedition against the Indians west of the Ohio, from November, 1792, until April, 1793. The expedition resulted in the Treaty of Greenville, which was signed in the summer of 1795.

Erected by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission and the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.
1918."

II.

"A short distance southeast of this spot, along the banks of the river, was situated the village of

LOGSTOWN,

one of the largest Indian settlements on the upper Ohio. It was the scene of many important conferences between the French, the British and the Indians during the period from 1748 to 1758. The first official council between the British and the Indians west of the mountains was held at this place by Conrad Weiser, on behalf of the province of Pennsylvania, in 1748. George Washington met the Indian chiefs at this place in 1753, when on his mission to the French forts. After the capture of Ft. Duquesne by the British in 1758 the site was deserted by the Indians who had moved westward to the Beaver and Muskingum rivers.

Erected by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission and the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.
1918."

Address By William H. Stevenson.

I greatly regret the absence of Senator William C. Sproul, president of the Historical Commission, the author of the bill permitting the Commission to expend the money for the purpose of preserving and marking historical places, who would like very much to have been with us but found it impossible to do so. Hampton L. Carson, a distinguished member of the Commission, has also been unable to come. We have, however, the two other members, Hon. A. E. Sisson and Dr. George P. Donehoo, and also Dr. T. L. Montgomery, the Commission's curator and the State librarian, all of whom you will have the pleasure and privilege of hearing.

The Commission requested the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania to hold this dedication under its auspices and we are therefore here to unveil this beautiful marker which commemorates the camp of Gen. Anthony Wayne's famous Legion, and the nearby historic Indian village of Logstown made memorable by the visits of George Washington and other notables in Colonial days.

Here where we are now assembled Gen. Wayne established the first training camp ever undertaken by our federal government, it being the precursor of the camps which in the present war have proved so efficient in quickly transforming undisciplined civilians of all walks of life into well trained soldiers. Gen. Wayne started to organize his Legion at Fort Fayette, which stood at the corner of Penn Avenue and Ninth Street (as those thoroughfares are known today) in Pittsburgh, in the summer of 1792. There he gathered together a motley crowd, mostly adventurers from the larger eastern towns and cities. The terrible defeats of Harmar and St. Clair and the reports of Indian atrocities committed on their troops served to deter voluntary enlistments, and Wayne was compelled to take what he could get. Soon he discovered that the environment of Pittsburgh was not conducive to the mainte-

nance of good discipline. Pittsburgh was but a frontier post infested with the usual evils attendant on such places. Wayne did not have the present day power of creating prohibition zones, and he soon found that Monongahela whiskey and military discipline didn't mix. So he very wisely in the fall of the year removed his troops and their equipment down the river on flatboats to the open country at this spot, which came to be known as Legionville, where the men were largely free from the temptations of the frontier town.

At this camp Wayne put his men through a thorough school of military training. He put into effect the lessons he had learned in the Revolution from Baron Steuben, and which he had his troops so effectively employ at Stony Point when he captured that place with the bayonet. He taught the Legion all the drill of the regular soldiery. He showed them how to lower their muskets and charge direct at the enemy with the terrifying yell just as our boys are being taught in our many training camps today. They were impressed with the duty of implicit obedience and with confidence in their officers, who then, as now, led and did not follow their men. Wayne is said by historians to have been an ideal leader of men and the most capable drill-master under whom the American army had served.

Wayne's spirit of patriotism and fair play to soldiers deserving promotion is illustrated in this autograph letter given by Mrs. Joseph Beardsley, of Bridgeville, Pa., to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. In writing to Maj. Gen. Knox, then Secretary of War, Wayne says: "I cannot think of committing the lives of good men and the interests of my country and my own honor into hands of men devoid of military ambition who are novices in the profession of arms." As a result of Wayne's work, his men, when put to the test, were not found wanting, and their glorious victory over the Indians at Fallen Timbers on August 19th, 1794, was the most emphatic vindication of his wise leadership. That victory opened the way to peace with the savages and made sure the retirement of the British from the posts in our territory which they had held

without warrant since the close of the Revolution. It made possible the settlement of our Northwestern Territory out of which were carved half a dozen great states.

Here on this spot Wayne raised the first flag of the United States with its 13 stripes and stars, it being the herald of freedom and civilization to a vast extent of country on and beyond the Ohio. Wayne did not long survive his great victory which brought much joy to the sorely tried Washington and to all the American people. He died at Erie November 17th, 1796, but his memory is still green in the hearts of our people. It has been said that "the path of glory leads but to the grave," but in the case of Wayne it has led to immortal fame. As the ages lengthen and the importance of his work becomes more and more evident to the eye of the discerning and impartial historian, the value of his deeds and services to his country grows, and Anthony Wayne's place in the American Hall of Fame becomes more and more secure.

Excerpts From the Address by Prof. J. H. Bausman, D. D.

The Treaty of Peace of 1783, which secured the independence of the colonies, did not relieve the western settlers from strife and suffering. In violation of her treaty engagements, Great Britain held military posts in the Northwestern Territory for still twelve years longer. At some of these posts, marauding bands of Indians were supplied with ammunition and encouraged in their depredations against the border settlements. The most troublesome of the tribes were those of the Miami Confederation. The army of General Josiah Harmar (1789) and that of General Arthur St. Clair (1791), which had been sent against this confederation, had met with frightful defeats, as a consequence of which the national government was humiliated and the whole country plunged in gloom.

Despite the contined aggressions of the savages, the national government persisted in efforts to secure peace with them, but finally decided to send against them another expedition. For this task Washington selected General Anthony Wayne, who in April, 1792, had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army.*

In June, 1792, Wayne arrived at Pittsburgh and began the organization of an army, which was named "The Legion of the United States." In November of the same year, he proceeded down the Ohio River to a point seven miles above the mouth of the Big Beaver, where he went into winter quarters. Of this position he writes to Henry Knox, Secretary of War: "I am so strongly entrenched here that all the Indians in the wilderness could not drive me out." The camp was called, after the army, "Legionville." It was strongly fortified, and some of its trenches and the remains of several of its redoubts are still plainly discernible.

Here, at Legionville, Wayne remained until the following spring (April, 1793), when he broke camp, and with his army, descended the river to Fort Washington, now

Cincinnati, Ohio. After a winter spent in building Fort Greenville, Fort Recovery, and Fort Wayne (the last-named on the site of the present city of that name in Indiana), and after fruitless efforts had been made by commissioners to secure an honorable peace without a conflict, General Wayne, in July, 1794, advanced toward the enemy, and on the 20th of August of that year, he met them on the banks of the Maumee, or Miami-of-the-Lake, and totally routed them in a decisive battle. The enemy, about two thousand strong, under the lead of Blue Jacket, the most distinguished chief of the Shawanese, were concealed behind a "wind-fall," where an immense number of prostrate trees presented an almost impassable barrier to troops of any kind, especially to cavalry. Wayne, at the head of about three thousand men, attacked with such skill and impetuosity that even this obstacle was powerless to check him. Perceiving from the weight of the enemy's fire and the extent of their line that they were in full force in front and trying to turn his right flank, he ordered Major-General Scott, with the whole of the mounted volunteers, to gain and turn the enemy's right flank, and Captain Campbell, with the cavalry of the regular army, to turn their left next to the river. With his front line, composed of regulars, he then struck the savages in their coverts behind the trees with a heavy fire of musketry and with a bayonet charge, dislodging them, and driving them with great slaughter for two miles, until their shattered remnants reached the shelter of a neighboring British fort. This the enraged American forces were with difficulty restrained from attacking. The next day the British commandant, Major Campbell, sent a communication to General Wayne, in which, referring to the near approach of Wayne's men to the guns of the British post, he asked to be informed whether "he was to consider the American army as enemies, being ignorant of any war existing between Great Britain and the United States." Wayne replied: "Were you entitled to an answer, the most full and satisfactory one was announced to you from the muzzles of my small arms yesterday morning, in the action against hordes of savages in the vicinity of your post, which ter-

minated gloriously to the American arms, but had it continued until the Indians were driven under the influence of the post and the guns you mention, they would not much have impeded the progress of the victorious army under my command."

From the character of the position which was occupied by the Indians in this fight, the engagement is sometimes called the "Battle of Fallen Timbers."

This great victory of the American arms brought lasting peace to the western borders. Its effects were threefold:—First, *local;* up to this time all of the region west of the Allegheny River and north of the Ohio was known as the "Indian side," or the "Indian country," and was hermetically sealed against settlement by the whites. The few adventurous men who attempted settlement anywhere therein were driven out either by the Indians themselvs or by the militia of the United States. Now settlement became lawful, and, as Judge Addison, in a letter to Governor Mifflin advising the speedy setting up in the newly opened region of the machinery of law, reports, "the people were going over the Ohio River in a mad flood."

Second, *national;* encouraged by the defeats of Harmar and St. Clair, the Indians along the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence, and in Georgia and Alabama, were pressing in upon the settlements. The news of Wayne's decisive victory over the Miamis overawed and quieted them.

And, lastly, it was *international* in the influence it had upon the British Government. Our minister, Mr. Jay, had been meeting with vexatious delays on the part of that government in settling questions hanging over from the Revolutionary War; he was now enabled speedily to close his negotiations with the Grenville ministry, and to secure the surrender of all the British posts still held, as already said, in the Northwestern Territory, a vast region out of which have since been carved several of the great commonwealths of the Union.

On the third of August, of the next year, 1795, a treaty of peace with the Indians was concluded at Fort Greenville.

This may, perhaps, be said to be the actual close of the Revolutionary War.

*Dr. Bausman's address was not written, but he has kindly supplied the abstract of it herein published.

*Wayne had already distinguished himself in the Revolutionary War, and his apparently reckless bravery had brought him the sobriquet of "Mad" Anthony. But the Indians were more discriminating than some of his white admirers; they called him the "Black Snake" and the "Tornado." They explained these apparently incongruous nicknames by saying that Wayne was like the black snake in the stealth with which he glided toward his foe, and like the tornado in the rapidity and force with which he moved when the moment for striking had come.

Logstown.

(Address by Hon. Henry W. Temple)

The tablet which is dedicated today marks a spot which has many interesting associations both with the beginning and the ending of the frontier history of the upper Ohio Valley. In the period of rivalry between the French and English for the possession of this valley, and for control of the fur trade with the Indians between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes, Logstown was the Indian metropolis of a large region. The population of the whole valley was not dense. Indeed at one time the total number of Indian warriors, that is, all Indian men of fighting age, within the limits of the province of Pennsylvania was estimated to be only seven hundred men. In September, 1748, at Logstown, the "Deputies of all the nations of Indians settled on the waters of Ohio" reported the number of their fighting men to be 789.

The conquering Iroquois Indians seem to have driven most of the inhabitants out of the upper Ohio Valley and even the Monongahela between 1680 and 1690, and it was not until about 1724 that the Delaware Indians, who were wards of the Iroquois, began to leave their villages on the Delaware River and the Susquehanna and, accompanied or followed by their neighbors, the Shawnese, to settle on the Allegheny and the Ohio and the streams that flow into the Ohio from the north. The territory south of the Ohio seems to have been reserved by their masters, the Iroquois, for a hunting ground, to which they came in numerous hunting parties in the fall to lay in the winter's supply of meat.

The exact date of the building of the village at Logstown I do not know. The earliest written record that I am acquainted with concerning this place is the journal of Conrad Weiser, the agent of the provincial government of Pennsylvania, who arrived at Logstown in August, 1748,

for a conference or treaty, as it was called, with the Indians. Perhaps it was as an announcement of his official status that he set up a pole and raised upon it the British flag, the Union Jack, probably the first time that this flag has been displayed so far to the west.

Though this is the earliest known record of a white man's visit to Logstown it was by no means the first time that white men had been there, for upon his arrival Weiser found no less than twenty English traders.

The Indians inhabiting the place were not Delawares only and Shawnese, who had come from their former homes in eastern and central Pennsylvania. There were Wyandots, too; and of the Iroquois tribes there were Senecas and Onondagas. There were also Indians from the Miami tribes of the Wabash country. The place was the center of a great fur trading district. The traders brought here woolen shirts, blankets, and other articles, including gunpowder and lead for bullets, and often whisky, though that was forbidden by the colonial laws. The Indians came here with furs and skins to exchange for the white man's goods.

There were trading posts farther west that the white man had established. In the Wabash country we find English white men from the Carolinas as early as 1715. These men would go west from the Carolina settlements to the headwaters of the Tennessee River, down the Tennessee and up the Ohio to the Wabash. In 1749 the French military commander, Celoron, found Carolina traders at Logstown and gave them a letter addressed to the Governor of Carolina warning him not to permit his people to come again into the Ohio river country, which belonged, Celoron said, to the French.

It is doubtful whether English traders or French traders first came into the upper Ohio valley, including Logstown, but there is no doubt whatever that military expeditions of the French had used the Allegheny and the Ohio rivers on their journeys between Quebec and the Louisiana settlements for many years previous to the coming of any military forces of the English. Shingiss, the Delaware chief, told Croghan that this river was a French road.

The records in English are few and brief, but hints are found in the journals of Gist, of Washington, of Croghan, of Conrad Weiser and others, of forces incidentally mentioned by Indians in conversations with them, which indicate the passage of small bodies of troops of which we know nothing more. They affect the imagination like the flying of birds in the darkness—we do not know their errand and in some instances we can only guess whence they come or whither they go.

Some of the French records, however, are very definite. The earliest military expedition and the largest until that one came which built Fort Duquesne, was not Celoron's expedition of 1749, which is the best known, but an expedition commanded by M. de Longueuil, which passed down the Allegheny and Ohio rivers in 1739. He came from Montreal with four hundred and forty-two men and went down the Mississippi River to serve under Bienville, of Louisiana, in the campaign against the Chicasaw Indians of the Tennessee country. In this expedition were several men who afterwards became famous. Celoron himself, who commanded the expedition of 1749, was with De Longueuil when he went down the Ohio and of course he passed the spot where we now stand. Celoron is spoken of in the old record as a young man, discreet, and very promising.

He makes reference to the earlier expedition in a speech which he made to Indians at the mouth of the Scioto River and which is recorded in his diary under date of August 23, 1749. He said to the Shawnee chiefs on that date:

> "What have you done, Shawnese, with the sense you had ten years ago when M. de Longueuil passed here to go to Chiachias. You were in his presence and in many ways you showed to him the kindness of your hearts and your sentiments. He even raised a troop of your young men to follow him. He had not even given you notice of his arrival but you had at that time the French heart."

Another expedition from Montreal came down the Allegheny and the Ohio in 1743. In that year Beauharnais reports to Paris that he had planned to remove the Shawnee

Indians from the Ohio to the Wabash and that he had enjoined Sieur La Saussaye, who had gone to where the Shawnese were collected together, not to neglect anything connected with this migration. We learn from Celoron's journal (See Note 1) that La Saussaye was with Celoron in 1749 and pointed out to him the portage below Lake Chautauqua over which it was necessary to carry the canoes. Again on August 6th in the entry in Celoron's journal of that day, there is an indication that La Saussaye was still with the expedition. After passing the mouth of the Kiskiminitas River, Celoron continues:

> "I re-embarked and passed the same day the old village of the Shawnese which has been abandoned since the departure of Chartier and his band, who were removed from this place by the orders of the Marquis de Beauharnais and conducted to the river Vermilion in the Wabash in 1743."

The identification of the spot was doubtless made by La Saussaye himself, just as he had also pointed out the portage which he had used in the previous expedition.

The best known of the French expeditions of early date and the one most intimately associated with Logstown is this one of Celoron's. He arrived at Logstown on August 8th and mentions the fact that as soon as he came in sight of the village he observed there three French flags and one English, which indicates the presence of a good many white traders of both nations. He calls Logstown one of the most considerable villages on *La Belle Riviere*. This metropolis had fifty cabins, according to the account of Father Bonnecamps, the chaplain of the Celoron military forces. They were inhabited, Celoron reports, by Iroquois, Shawnese, Delawares, Nipissingues, Abenakis, Ottawas, and other nations.

Celoron's experiences here were interesting but not comforting nor encouraging to the prospects of the French in the Ohio Valley. The Indians at that time were strongly favorable to the English. Celoron's orders were to destroy or seize the goods of any English traders that he might find in the Indian villages. He makes a record of these instructions but explains that he was not strong enough to put them

into execution. It was at Logstown, as already mentioned, that he wrote a letter to the governor of Carolina and entrusted it to the care of Carolina traders who were summoned before him with other English speaking traders and ordered not to engage further in the Indian trade of the Ohio Valley.

The following year, 1750, Sieur Chabert de Joncaire was instructed to go to Logstown and build there a trading house two stories high, notched (crénéle) for defense. The notches in the logs of the old blockhouse still standing in Pittsburgh show how conveniently such notches, or port-holes, can be arranged. Joncaire was also instructed to explore the whole region, learn all he could of the Monongahela and find a new route by the river Blanche (Miami) into Lake Erie, which was believed to be a nearer way. George Croghan was at Logstown in the fall of that year and wrote to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania, under date of December 16th, that Indians had reported to him that they had seen "John Coeur" one hundred fifty miles up the river where he intended to build a fort.

Concerning this matter we also have the testimony of Ralph Kilgore and Morris Turner, two of John Frazer's men, who had been trading among the Indians in the Wabash country in 1750. Having bought more skins than their horses could carry they brought one load to Logstown and went back for more. Seized in the Wabash country by Indians friendly to the French, they were taken to Detroit and bought from the Indians by the French commander there, who sent them to Niagara. In the Spring of 1751 they saw there the goods which Joncaire had started to take to Logstown the preceding summer. They estimated the value of these goods at one thousand, five hundred pounds, or seven thousand, five hundred dollars.

Joncaire, accompanied by about forty Indians and a few French, reached Logstown with these goods on May 21, 1751, and found George Croghan there in very friendly relations with the Indians who had already told him that the English ought to have a fort on this river and secure the trade. Joncaire nevertheless undertook negotiations to in-

duce the Indians to drive the English traders away and on May 28th the conference or treaty was held. Ten English traders were there, including Andrew Montour, Croghan, and others. The Indians included Delawares, Shawnese, Wyandots, Twightwees, and Iroquois.

According to Croghan's report an Iroquois chief defied Joncaire, shaking his finger in the French officer's face and telling him to go home immediately, to keep away from the Indians' lands, and to assure the French authorities that the Iroquois were brothers to the English. Nevertheless Joncaire remained at Logstown with the Indians under his command and on the 6th of June wrote from this place to the governor of Pennsylvania that in accordance with orders from his superior officers he had directed the Pennsylvania traders to withdraw from the Ohio country. Croghan records, however, that Joncaire told him that he did not think that he could induce the Indians to send the English away but was forced to make the demand because of the orders of his superior officers.

It was on the occasion of this visit of Croghan to Logstown that an incident occurred which gives us a glimpse at the relations existing between the Delawares, who lived here, and their masters, the Iroquois. The Eckerlin Brothers, who belonged to one of the German religious bodies of central Pennsylvania, had moved into the wilderness and established themselves upon what is still called Dunkard Creek, in Greene County, Pennsylvania. (See Note 2). In Croghan's diary we find an entry for May 26, 1751, recording a visit from one of these Dunkards asking permission from the Indians at Logstown to make a permanent settlement on the Youghiogheny. Croghan says that the Indians told their petitioner that they had no authority to grant such a request but that he would have to ask it of the Long House at Onondago. The Long House at that place was the central council house of the Iroquois confederation.

While the French government in Canada had been doing much to secure and maintain their hold upon the fur trade of these Indians and to prevent even the coming of traders from the English colonies, an enterprise had been

undertaken by the English in 1748 which was to bring the whole French and English rivalry to a crisis and determine the future destiny not only of the Ohio Valley but of the great west to which it was the gate-way. A company had been organized in 1748 which was composed of Virginia and Maryland people, with one member, a Mr. Hanbury, in London. They presented a petition asking for a charter for five hundred thousand acres of land on the Allegheny and Ohio rivers, which was to be on both sides of the Monongahela between "Kiskiminitas or Romanettoes Creek and Buffalo Creek and on the other side of the Ohio between Yellow Creek and the two creeks." The charter was granted and the company sent out Christopher Gist, a surveyor, who was to explore the country on both sides of the Ohio with a view to finding where it would be best for them to make their settlement. Gist came to Logstown on November 21, 1750, and enters in his journal:

> "Scarce anybody here but a parcel of reprobate Indian traders, the chiefs of the Indians being out ahunting."

He records also the suspicion of the Indians that he was there for the purpose of settling the Indians' lands. Logstown, however, was outside the territory that the Ohio Company intended to settle and we need make no further mention of Gist's visit to this place. The Company built a fortified storehouse at the mouth of Wills Creek, where the city of Cumberland, Maryland, now stands, and another on the Monongahela River at the mouth of Red Stone Creek, where Brownsville now is. The French were at the same time building forts at Presque Isle (Erie, Pennsylvania), Le Boeuf (Waterford, Pennsylvania), and Machault (Franklin, Pennsylvania), and the governor of Virginia grew uneasy though as yet there was little realization either in London or Paris that these interests, the one advancing from the north and the other from the south, were to clash in the Ohio Valley and bring on a great war. Governor Dinwiddie sent George Washington, then twenty-two years old and a major of the Virginia militia, to warn the French on Lake Erie and farther south toward the Allegheny that they were

encroaching upon English territory. Washington followed the Indian trail which brought him to the junction of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers, where Pittsburgh is now, crossed the Allegheny and came to Logstown, where he passed some time.

He met here four men who were deserters, they told him, from a French company of one hundred men which had been sent from New Orleans to meet at Logstown a similar expedition from the French forts on Lake Erie. These deserters gave Washington some information about the French forces at the "Black Islands," as Washington records it. Evidently Van Braam, Washington's interpreter for the French language, heard what these French deserters had to say about the French settlements in the Illinois country and understood the word to be *Iles Noires*.

Washington proceeded down the Ohio and up the Beaver River, evidently by the trail that passed through or near the present towns of Ellwood City and New Castle, to the mouth of French Creek, where Franklin now stands. He met there Joncaire, who referred him to the commander of Fort Le Boeuf, near the head of French Creek, fifteen miles south of the present city of Erie.

Washington's visit had no result except to hasten the military preparations of the French and his report evidently hastened also like activities on the part of the Ohio Company.

Washington had indicated in his journal the place at the mouth of Chartiers Creek where the Ohio Company had intended to build a fort, but expresses the opinion that the point between the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers would be much better, and the Company proceeded immediately to build its fort at that place, sending Ensign Edward Ward, with a small detachment of Virginia militia and about as many troops of the Ohio Company, to begin the construction of the fort.

In the meantime the French also were prepared to build a fort or strengthen the two-story trading house made with portholes for defense, that Joncaire had already built at Logstown. On January 15, 1754, a French officer with six-

teen soldiers arrived at Logstown, but, on account of the unfriendly disposition of the Indians, found it advisable to proceed to a small village of the Six Nations about two miles farther down the Ohio to await there the arrival of a larger French force. (Croghan's Journal, January 15, 1754). The work at Logstown was to be in charge of Contrecoeur, whose original orders had been to proceed down the Allegheny and Ohio and establish himself at that village. We know, however, that when he came as far as the little fort that Ensign Ward was building he seized it, drove Ward's forces away, enlarged it and called it Fort Duquesne.

Ensign Ward had surrendered the place to Contrecoeur April 17, 1754. After this had happened but before the news had reached Quebec, instructions had been given to Sieur Péan to proceed to Logstown with his forces and, if Contrecoeur thought advisable, to employ his troops in strengthening the fort there and even enlarging it, if necessary, in order to quarter a garrison of two hundred men, but before he had proceeded far on the journey he received a letter from Contrecoeur telling him of his capture of Ward's fort, which he described as a "fort built by the British near Chiningue'." Chiningue' is the name which the French had always applied to Logstown. It seems rather queer in our time to describe Pittsburgh as a place near Logstown.

The overthrow of the English plans and the capture of the Ohio Company's fort lost the English most of the support they had been receiving from the Indians in the upper Ohio Valley. A few of them still favored the English, some were with Washington, who came north too late to reinforce Ward at the fort, and who surrendered to a superior force at Fort Necessity less than three months after Ward's surrender at the head of the Ohio.

Still fewer Indians were with Braddock a year later when he followed the trail over which Washington had marched to Fort Necessity, and continued his journey northward over the Ohio Company's trading path and the Indian trail to the scene of his disaster at the mouth of Turtle Creek.

Logstown remained in the hands of the French and under French influence for more than four years and was in their possession when General Forbes undertook his expedition against Fort Duquesne. At that time Christian Frederick Post, an agent of the Pennsylvania government who had been much among the Indians and knew their mode of thinking and who was personally acquainted with some of the Indians at Logstown and elsewhere in the neighborhood, believed that he could bring influences to bear that would separate the Indians from the French. He came to Logstown and began negotiations which led the Indians to abandon their alliance with the French and to refuse to aid them further against the English forces that were coming to attack them.

Deprived of the support of the Indians against the army which General Forbes was bringing to attack him, the French commander of Fort Duquesne found it necessary to abandon the place without awaiting the approach of the British and Colonial forces. The advanced column of Forbes' army marched in and took possession, and in the confusion that followed the Indians abandoned Logstown, fearing lest they might be punished for their alliance with the French. We hear little of the place afterward although it is known that Colonel Gibson had a trading post there in 1777, nineteen years after the former inhabitants of the place had fled from the victorious English army.

The later associations of the place, which also are commemorated by the tablet dedicated today, have to do with the military encampment or cantonment, as we would say in our own time, established there in 1792 by Anthony Wayne. The Indians of the northwest, the Miami confederacy, which held the territory in southern Michigan, northwestern Ohio, and the headwaters of the many streams that flow into the Wabash, had long been troublesome to the settlements in Pennsylvania on the eastern and southern side of the Ohio. They had destroyed two armies sent against them and General Wayne did not intend that his army should go into the Indian country without training. His training camp was established on the site of the old Indian

village of Logstown and here during the winter of 1792 and 1793 he trained his men, drilled them, held target practice, and prepared them for the victory that they won in the battle of Fallen Timbers. Another speaker today will devote his time to the associations of this place with the army of Anthony Wayne. I wish merely to say that after the victory of Fallen Timbers the people on the south side of the Ohio River were no longer troubled by the raiding of small bands of Indians which up to that time had continued occasionally to visit the settlements in western Pennsylvania. After that the Pennsylvania settlers lived in peace and quiet. The Indian raids were of the past. So I conclude, as I began, by saying that the tablet dedicated here today marks a spot which has very interesting associations both with the beginning and the ending of the pioneer history of the upper Ohio Valley.

Note 1.—In his Journal for July 27, 1749, Celoron says that the portage was pointed out to him by the Sieur de la Saussaye. A well known English version of the Journal reads: "The portage was indicated to me by the traces of the savages." The words of Celoron, however, are: "*Le portage me fut indique par le Sieur de la Saussaye.*"

The translator rendered the abbreviation of the word "*Sieur*" as "trace," and mistook the name "Saussaye" for the word "*sauvages.*"

Note 2.—For an account of this settlement see "The German Sectaries of Pennsylvania 1742 to 1800," by Julius Friedrich Sachse; pages 342-354.

A Few Facts in the History of Logstown.

(Abstract of Address of Dr. George P. Donehoo.)

The origin of the name "Logstown" is difficult to discover. It is probably due to the fact that large numbers of logs were left upon the flat after the floods in the Ohio River. The English name is certainly not a translation of any of the Indian names which may have been applied to the site. In fact I have been unable to discover any Indian name which was given to the village which was situated where we are now standing. Shenango has been mentioned as one of the probable Indian names, but this name, as thus applied, is probably due to the pronunciation of the name Chiningue', which is used by the French writers. Shenango is a corruption of *Ochenango*, a Seneca word meaning "large bull thistles." The river and city in New York state, Chanango, perpetuates this Indian name, as does also the branch of the Beaver River, Shenango. Father Bonnecamps, who accompanied the expedition of Celoron DeBienville in 1749, states in his Journal of this expedition, "we call it (the Indian village at Logstown) "Chiningue', from its vicinity to a river of that name" (Jesuit Relations, LXIX, 183). Chiningué is the French word for "beaver," and the reference is to the Beaver River. Thwaites states that the Indian name of the place was *Maughwawame* (Wisconsin Historical Collections, XVIII., 42). The speaker has not been able to find such a name as applied to this site, in any of the records, letters or journals of the period. It was one of the names applied to the site of Wyoming, and of which Wyoming is a corruption. Its significance, "great plains," or "great meadows," might well have been applied to the site of Logstown. The great majority of the early Shawnee villages were upon great plains or meadows. There is a striking resemblance in the topography of all of the Shawnee village sites from those on the Potomac River, to those upon the Susquehanna and Ohio. This is especially true of

the sites chosen by the *Assiwikale* clan of the Shawnee. That Logstown was first occupied within historic times by the members of this Clan seems probable. The present Sewickley is a corruption of this Clan name.

The site was first occupied within historic times by the Shawnee, who came westward from the Susquehanna with Peter Chartier in 1725-7. There is a probability that the upper Ohio was occupied by the Shawnee in pre-historic times, and that the Indian Mounds at McKees Rocks and at various other places in Western Pennsylvania were the works of these ancestors of the historic Shawnee. The tradition given by David Zeisberger in his "History of the Northern American Indians" (pages 32-33) may be more than mere tradition. In fact, it is generally believed by archaeologists that the earliest occupation of the Allegheny and upper Ohio was by the Cherokee, or Talligewi, or Alligewi. One of the earliest names for the present Ohio River, and the name by which the present Allegheny River is known, was *Allegawi Sipu*, or "river of the Alligewi," or to give the uncorrupted tribal name, "river of the Cherokee." It seems truly a romance of history that this region in which we are now standing was once occupied by some of the most historic tribes of the Red Men, and it is one of the great pities of history that the remains of these early occupations were entirely destroyed before they had been scientifically studied. Traditions dealing with the dim period before this region entered into the realm of written history are the most interesting in American ethnology. There are traditions of great conflicts between the Delaware and the Cherokee, in which the latter were driven from this region to the "Cherokee River" to the southward. This river to which they were driven is the present Tennessee River. One of the greatest conflicts in this struggle took place upon the island, where the government of the United States is to build the plant where great guns are to be made to drive modern savagery from the face of the earth. Does it not seem strange that here along these waters of the "Beautiful River" where Cherokee and Delaware once fought for supremacy, and where France and Great Britain fought for

dominion, today we should be making munitions of war to carry across the "Great Water" to fight in union with the soldiers of France and Great Britain against savagery and barbarism as cruel as that which once stained the waters of this river with blood.

It is a pity that this most interesting region was covered by cities and railroads, which lie upon the very pathways of these aboriginal peoples, before men awakened to an interest in the remains which these people left behind them. Today it is almost impossible to study the archaeology of the upper Ohio Valley because all of the sites of real importance are covered with cities, mills, railroads and other evidences of a growing civilization. The latter are of more value, but the former are of more real historical interest. Many of the archaeological problems concerning the early occupation of eastern Pennsylvania and western New York would be nearer solution if the archaeology of the upper Ohio would disclose its secrets. Several of the most prominent archaeologists in this country are inclined to accept the theory of the northward migration of the Iroquois and Algonkian tribes. If this be true, and there seems to be no reason to doubt it, then the Ohio River was the pathway by which some of these tribes reached their historic habitats. A study of the entire course of the river from its sources in the mountains of Pennsylvania, to the mouth of the Mississippi River at the Gulf of Mexico, is necessary. One fact is certain, and that is that the culture of the Indian tribes from the mouth of the Ohio River to the headwaters becomes more and more primitive as one goes northward away from the centre of dispersion. The early tribes occupying this region were on the outskirts of the Indian development. They were immigrants, who had left behind them the developed arts of their racial groups. But, all of these statements are purely theoretic. As yet there are few facts to support any of them. The facts may be found some day, when more is known of the archaeology of the upper Ohio, the Allegheny and the Susquehanna valleys.

The historical period of this region has been so completely covered by Congressman Temple, that little remains

to be said about it. Logstown became an historic place when the rival traders of France and Great Britain entered the region. That it had not been occupied very long before this period by the historic Indians, is stated in the Journal of Father Bonnecamps (1749). He says, "The village of Chiningue' is quite new; it is hardly more than five or six years since it was established." (Jesuit Relations, LXIX., 183). It seems probable, as previously stated, that some of the band of Shawnee, under Peter Chartier, who reached the Ohio region in about 1731, after leaving "Chartier's Old Town," settled at the site of Logstown. When Chartier fled down the Ohio in 1745, taking with him a number of Shawnee, quite a number of his tribe remained on the upper Ohio, probably at Logstown. We know that the Shawnee migrated to the Ohio before the migration of the Delaware commenced. Every effort was made by the Provincial Council, as well as by the Iroquois Confederation, to have the Shawnee returned to the Susquehanna. All of these efforts were fruitless, and in a short time the Delaware commenced to follow their "cousins" to the Ohio, to escape the debauchery of the rum traffic and to get beyond the control of their Iroquois masters. The migration of the Shawnee and the Delaware to the Ohio led to the development of the Indian trade—the trader followed the Indian wherever he went. It was not long until the traders of Pennsylvania and Virginia became keen rivals for the trade on the Ohio. The conquest of the Ohio was as much a struggle between Pennsylvania and Virginia, as it was a struggle between France and Great Britain. In fact all of the earliest movements in the direction of actual possession of the Ohio region were taken by Virginia. Conrad Weiser's mission in 1748 was the first actual official mission of the English speaking people to the Indians west of the mountains. But Virginia, through the mission of Christopher Gist in 1750 and Washington's mission in 1753, and the building of the fort at "the Forks" by Edward Ward, took measures to gain actual possession of the region of the Ohio. These measures led to the conflict at the "Great Meadows" and to the struggle between France and Great Britain. It is doubtful whether this conflict would

have ever started on the Ohio, had the initiative been left to the Province of Pennsylvania, with its Quaker Assembly and influence. However much we may laugh at some of the verbal efforts of the bluff old governor of Virginia, one thing is certain about him, and that is that he did not spend all of his time in idle letter-writing. While he was waiting to hear "from home," he started things moving. And, another thing which he did for which we can be thankful, he discovered George Washington and started him on his way to immortal fame and he started a nation on its pathway to the Marne.

I will not dwell upon any of these historic missions which Congressman Temple has covered in his address. We must bear in mind that the Colony of Virginia claimed this region, not only because of the King's Charter to the Ohio Company, but also according to the terms of the Treaty of Lancaster of 1744, by which the Iroquois sold to Virginia the lands "to the setting sun." This phrase came up for discussion at several councils with the Indians, who explained that they meant the lands to the top of the mountain ridges below which the sun set. Virginia understood it literally, and acted accordingly. In 1751 Governor Dinwiddie appointed James Patton, Joshua Fry and Lunsford Lomaz as Commissioners to the Indians at Logstown. They arrived at Logstown on May 31, 1752, and held various conferences with the Indians. On June 13th, the Commissioners had the Indian chiefs sign a ratification of the Treaty of Lancaster (1744), allowing the English to form settlements on the south and east side of the Ohio River. But, at the same time the Indians denied the English claim to any lands on the western side of the mountains. The mission of Christopher Gist and George Washington in 1753 had as its purpose the holding of these lands for the "Ohio Company," and to enforce this claim, not only against France, but also against Pennsylvania. This most unfortunate lack of harmony between the plans of the two great colonies of Pennsylvania and Virginia was one of the chief causes of the disasters which came to the attempted settlement of western Pennsylvania. "The Virginia Dispute" was one of the most unfortunate incidents in the early history of this entire region.

It was at the foundation of nearly all of the troubles with the Indians, after the new nation had been born.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I hope that some of the historic events which have taken place upon this ground, where the real struggle for the "winning of the west" had its commencement, may lead us to a realization of how important those events are for all time. Within a radius of fifty miles, or slightly more, of this place, occurred the first actual clash of arms of the French and Indian War, the battle at Fort Necessity, the defeat of General Braddock, the capture of Fort Duquesne, and thrilling events almost without number in the border wars. The young man who came to meet with the Indians at this place, received his training as a soldier within this region west of the mountain ridge, where he had his first baptism of fire. Fort Necessity was his starting point on the way to Brandywine and Valley Forge, and to his place beside the Immortals of the World.

In these days, when this nation is engaged in the greatest conflict of all time, let us remember these historic events which have made this nation possible. Without George Washington and the heroic pioneers of human liberty who followed him as he blazed the trail, this Great War never could have been possible. Savagery and barbarism would have remained triumphant. The Liberty Bell would never have rung out its message, which today is re-echoed in the cannon thunders on the Marne.

And, let us be inspired by the thought which comes to us as we remember that the three flags which have flown over the waters of this river, once as flags of hostile forces, are today leading the hosts of human liberty in the struggle of the ages. On this spot was flown to the breezes of a summer day the flag of Great Britain. Then came the Royal banner of the French kingdom, and then "The Star Spangled Banner." These banners today are at the head of the Allied armies as they press onward to the victory which must come.

Notes and Queries.

THE LAST PUBLIC EXECUTION IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY—HANGING OF JOHN TIERNAN IN PITTSBURGH IN 1818.

In this advanced age when many of the States have abolished capital punishment, when our own State is drifting in the same direction, and when the persons who are convicted of murder in the first degree, are taken away from the haunts of men and meet their doom in the secrecy of a sealed chamber, it is well to recall that only a hundred years ago a morbid curiosity required that the executions be made public spectacles, and the people took a holiday in order to witness the gruesome sight.

The last person to be publicly hanged in Allegheny County was John Tiernan, whose execution took place on March 25, 1818. Tiernan murdered Pat. Campbell on Turtle Creek hill in the latter part of the year 1817. He was captured after a lively chase and placed in confinement in Pittsburgh, but shortly afterward broke jail and was recaptured at or near Greensburg. He was brought back to the city where he remained until executed.

Pat. Campbell and John Tiernan had a contract for breaking stone on the old Greensburg pike, on Turtle Creek hill, and having finished the task received their pay. Tiernan commenced drinking, while Campbell, who was an inoffensive and sober man, went to the cabin occupied by himself and Tiernan, and retired early in the evening. At this time where the village of Turtle Creek stands, there was a tavern, a store, and a blacksmith shop. Tiernan repaired to the tavern, which was kept by Thomas Chalfant, borrowed an axe and went back to the cabin, and in cold blood killed Campbell, who was asleep.

On January 15, 1818, the grand jury found a true bill against Tiernan for murder. Two days later he was tried, and convicted of murder in the first degree, and sentenced to be hanged on March 25 following. The day of the execution dawned beautifully clear, and thousands of people came into the city to witness the public hanging. The execution took place at the head of Fourth Avenue, then called Fourth Street. Fourth Street ended at Grant Street. Two or three hundred feet beyond this point, and near where Ross Street has been since laid out, a small rivulet called Suke's Run flowed toward the Monongahela River which it entered where the "Pan Handle" Railroad bridge crosses the stream. The run was bordered on both sides by meadows and beyond these the land sloped slightly upward, the whole being called Suke's Run Hollow. In this hollow the gallows was placed. A few rods above the place of execution the run was crossed by a stone bridge.

Tiernan had been lodged in the old jail on Jail Alley, now Delray Street, a short distance south of Diamond Street. He was taken from the jail yard in a cart guarded by Pittsburgh's military com-

pany, the Pittsburgh Blues. The procession, followed by a large crowd, moved up Fourth Street to the gallows, which was immediately surrounded by the Blues. Tiernan, who was dressed in a blue coat, new white trousers, and wore brogans, took his place upon the trap. An enormous crowd stood expectantly about the place of execution. The little bridge, the hill to the east, and the roofs of the houses in the vicinity were black with men, women and children. Lazarus Stewart, the sheriff, cut the rope which held the trap door, and Tiernan fell several feet, and after hanging for some time was taken down and buried beneath the gallows.

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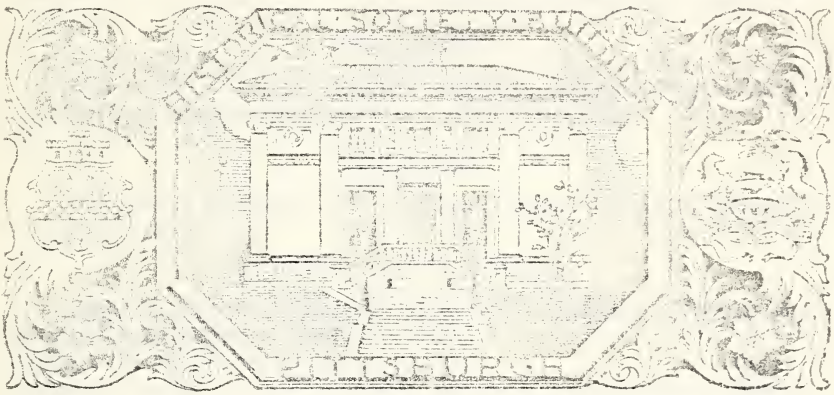

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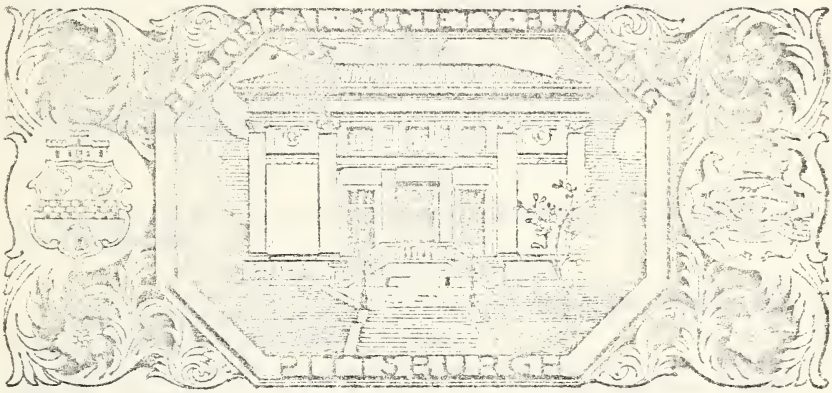

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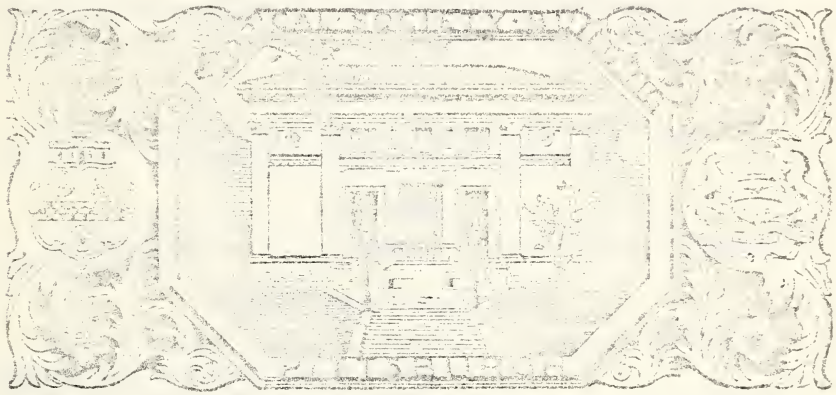

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PROGRAM

1918

REGULAR MEETINGS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

Historical Hall, Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Avenue,

Pittsburgh, Pa.

April 20—Hon. H. W. Temple
Subject to be announced later.

May 28—Miss Della McMeans
"Dr. Alter, a Local Scientist."

Mr. W. Espey Albig
"Development of Transportation on the Monongahela."

GIFTS AND LOANS

The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania in its building at Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Avenue, Pittsburgh, maintains a Museum for the preservation of relics, pictures and documents associated with the history of Western Pennsylvania and adjoining territory. Hundreds of articles, many of which constitute a priceless talisman in the annals of the country about the Forks of the Ohio, have been donated to the Society and are treasured in the Museum for the education of posterity.

Constant additions are being made to these gifts and the Society especially desires that all persons interested in preserving relics and documents relating to the history of Western Pennsylvania take advantage of the opportunity for safeguarding them in the custodianship of this organization. Books and documents by Pennsylvania authors, and pictures, documents and articles that have belonged to eminent Pennsylvanians of the western counties of the State are solicited. Acknowledgment of donations and loans will be made in succeeding issues of the Historical Magazine.

Historical Hall is open for visitors each week day from 10 A. M. to 5 P. M., and on Sundays from 2 P. M. to 4 P. M. when access is had to the library and Museum.

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